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ABSTRACT

This study used a social constructivist approach to examine parents' child rearing beliefs and practices and children's social interaction and social understanding in two Vietnamese and two Pilipino immigrant families. The parents were interviewed and observed at home. Four 5- to 8-year-olds were studied in various areas of social development, social interactions, self-help skills, and prosocial behavior. Extensive observations were conducted at home, school, and during after-school care as children interacted with parents, siblings, teachers, peers, grandparents, and the researcher. Children's teachers were interviewed at school. On the basis of extensive descriptions of parents' child rearing practices and children's social behavior, relationships between parents' cultural scripts and children's social constructions were established. Findings suggested that all parents communicated the value of independence to children. Simultaneously, they held traditional values that fostered interdependence. The children's social behavior reflected a strong tendency to associate with others. The three children who were exposed to cultural scripts that were inconsistent across settings showed difficulties in their peer interactions, suggesting that they did not have a clear understanding of their various roles in relation to others. The one child who was exposed to consistent cultural scripts across settings showed a clearer understanding of her diverse social roles and was collaborative and inclusive at all times and had no difficulties relating to peers. (Contains 55 references.) (KB)

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THE ROLE OF CULTURAL SCRIPTS ON THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF TWO VIETNAMESE AND TWO PILIPINO CHILDREN

Irene A. Bersola-Nguyen
B.A., California State University, Sacramento, 1991

THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

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at

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FALL
1995

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THE ROLE OF CULTURAL SCRIPTS ON
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF
TWO VIETNAMESE AND TWO PILIPINO CHILDREN

A Thesis

by

Irene A. Bersola-Nguyen

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Date

Department of Teacher Education

Abstract

of

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL SCRIPTS ON
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF
TWO VIETNAMESE AND TWO PILIPINO CHILDREN

by

Irene A. Bersola-Nguyen

This study examined parents' child-rearing beliefs and practices and children's social interaction and social understanding in four Asian immigrant families--two Vietnamese and two Pilipino. Previous studies have shown commonalities in the traditional child-rearing practices of these cultural groups. These studies have reported that both Vietnamese and Pilipino parents tend to follow, consciously or unconsciously, cultural scripts that foster the development of interdependence (or collectivism), in contrast with European-American cultural script that tends to foster independence (or individualism). The present, exploratory study, took an in depth look into a small number of immigrant families to examine values of independence and interdependence within the context of cultural adaptation. The parents were interviewed and observed at home. Four of their children, one from each of the families studied, from 5 to 8 years of age, were studied in various areas of social development--social interactions with adults and other children, self-help skills, and prosocial behavior. Extensive participant and non-participant observations were conducted at home, school, and after-school care as children interacted with parents, siblings, teachers, peers, grandparents and with the researcher. In addition, the children's teachers were interviewed at school. Data collected on social development were primarily qualitative, though a limited amount of ordinal data were obtained.

On the basis of extensive descriptions of parents' child-rearing practices and children's social behavior, relationships between parents' cultural scripts and children's social constructions were established. The data suggest that all the parents studied communicated the value of independence to their children. At the same time

they held traditional values that tend to foster interdependency. In turn, the social behavior of the four children studied reflected a strong tendency to associate with others. The three children who were exposed to cultural scripts that were inconsistent across settings--home, school, after-school care--tended to show difficulties in their social interactions with their peers. Furthermore, their behavior suggested that they did not have a clear understanding of their various roles vis a vis others. On the other hand, the one child in the study who was exposed to consistent cultural scripts across settings tended to show a more clear understanding of her diverse social roles. She was collaborative and inclusive at all times, and had no difficulties relating with peers. The results were discussed from the theoretical perspective of social constructionism, which postulates that the ever-changing reality which individuals construct is based on social exchanges that occur in their everyday lives. No attempts were made to generalize the results of this exploratory study to all Pilipino and Vietnamese families in the United States.

Committee Chair's

Signature of Approval: Carmen Nava-Pollett

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to all the immigrant families who struggled to preserve cultural identities while they sought compromise with their culture of adoption for the sake of better opportunities for their children. May their invaluable stories always be recognized, appreciated, and remembered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the faculty who have made the completion of this study possible. To my mentor, my second-mother, my friend, Professor Carmen Saco-Pollitt. Thank you very much for believing in me and for always encouraging me to do my best. To Professor Lila Jacobs, I thank you for your constant guidance and support. My profound appreciation to Professor Harold Murai, for exposing me to the wonderful world of child development and for his remarkable dedication to his students.

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Chapter 1

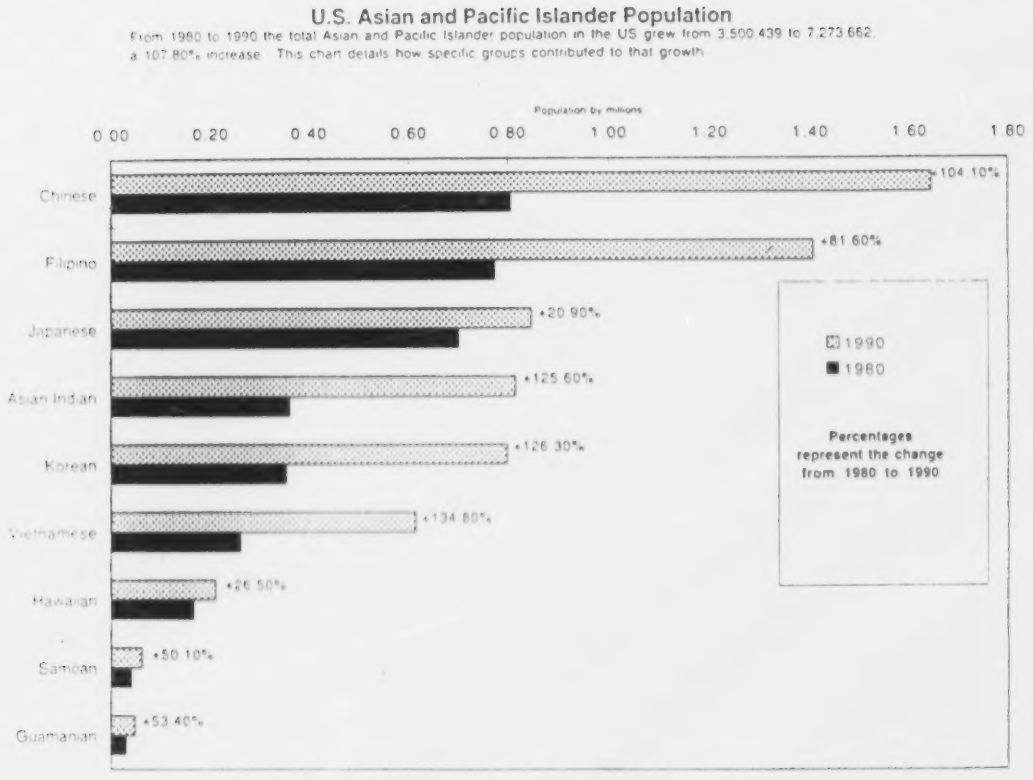
INTRODUCTION

Between the years 1975 to 1990, significant changes took place in several Asian countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Philippines, and China. In 1975, the fall of Saigon occurred when Communism began to spread in Southeast Asia. In 1983, the assassination of a prominent opposition leader in the Philippines sparked violent demonstrations against the government. Such changes have greatly contributed to the continuous increase of the Asian population in the United States, as reflected in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

In fact, among all nations, the U.S. has settled the largest number of Asian Pacific immigrants[1] (Ong & Hee, 1993). Demographers project that by the year 2000, 10 million people of Asian and Pacific Islander descent will live in the United States. By the year 2020, the number is expected to reach 20 million. Yet Americans know little about the social and behavioral adaptation of the fastest growing

FIGURE 1



Source: US Census Bureau

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segment of the population and about the development of their children.

In contrast to widely held perceptions that Asian immigrants in the United States are not only overwhelmingly successful but also well-adjusted, many experience a significant loss of cultural identity (Cordova, 1983; Takaki, 1989, 1995; Yao, 1985). As they begin the process of assimilation into American society, some Asian families are faced with the need for both husbands and wives to work in order to provide for the basic needs of their children. At times, extended families are unavailable; thus, some children are left to care for themselves. Many of these children are faced with conflicting values--those from their home culture and those from "outside" their home culture. In providing an example of conflicts in societal values experienced by bicultural individuals, Greenfield (1994) stated that

> Asian students often feel selfish for desiring to choose a field of study. They do not realize that what is labeled <u>selfishness</u> in their sub-culture is valued as <u>self-actualization</u> in the dominant society. In other words, they do not realize that they are caught in a conflict between two value systems (p. 28).

Although some individuals might overcome this conflict, it had been suggested by Thompson & Karr-Kidwell (1994) and Ponce (1990) that gang affiliation and ethnic rebellion among Asian children and adolescents have resulted from individuals experiencing cultural conflicts. Often, children and adolescents become victims of incompatible demands. As a reflection of this discrepancy, some children and adolescents may display symptoms of maladjustment and delinquency (Kim, 1990).

Schools can be used as an avenue to prevent these children from "getting lost" in the American mainstream. Unfortunately, our society has very limited knowledge of the cultural backgrounds of these students. The "model-minority" myth, which involves the perception of Asians as "... hard-working, intelligent people who have made it in America" (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1992; Crystal, 1989; Lee, 1993; Won & Kwang, 1989) has been perpetuated. Not surprisingly, Asians who don't fit the image tend to be perceived as students with learning disabilities. The model minority myth has hurt the Asian population, especially newly arrived groups such as the Southeast Asian refugees--Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Mien, and Hmong. A study by Jacobs (1987) of Hmong students revealed that a large number of Asian children labeled as learning disabled were not really handicapped. They were placed in this category

because they did not conform to the parameters of the performance and behaviors expected in the classroom. Jacobs concluded that behavioral differences from the mainstream determined their placement in this category.

The assumption that ethnic groups are monolithic and have rather homogeneous needs and characteristics has been applied to Asians in the United States. J.D. Hokoyama, president of Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP), stated that "many people think that all Asians are the same. Yet the term Asian and Pacific Islander--a government classification--embraces 59 groups, each with its own language, customs and culture" (Lee, 1993, p. 2). The behavior of a Vietnamese parent who rubs a coin on her child's back to rid a fever; or of a Pilipino[2] child who takes the back of an elder's hand and pats her forehead with it, are examples of these differences. Such diversity in responses underscores the need to conduct research on cultural differences in the development of Asian children.

Purpose of the Study

This exploratory study

1. describes the social interactions of young Pilipino-American and Vietnamese-American children in a variety of

contexts, focusing on prosocial behavior, requests for assistance, and acceptance to play with peers,

2. analyzes the social constructions underlying the social behaviors of the children mentioned,
3. identifies child-rearing beliefs and practices in the parents of the children mentioned, including the areas of discipline, familial obligations, academic expectations, and cultural preservation,
4. analyzes the cultural scripts in the child-rearing beliefs and practices of the parents mentioned above, with a focus on values fostering either independence or interdependence in the children.

The perspective of social constructionism is used to examine the cross-cultural adaptation of the Pilipino and Vietnamese families studied. It is expected that the information provided will help educators, social workers, school counselors, employers, and other members of our society gain a better understanding of the complexity of the social experience of Vietnamese and Pilipino children whose families are in the process of cultural adaptation.

Methodology

This exploratory work makes use of multiple research strategies for an in-depth study of two Pilipino and two Vietnamese children, using qualitative methods (i.e., systematic participant and nonparticipant observations, and structured and nonstructured interviews) and quantitative social development checklists.

The children in the study were observed in different settings: their homes, schools, and/or after-school care. Developmental checklists, nonstructured interviews, and nonparticipant observation focusing on social interactions and social skills were used in the school settings. While participant observation proved to be most valuable in the home settings, both nonstructured and structured interviews focusing on their social behavior and social understanding were also conducted.

The teachers were interviewed using both structured and nonstructured methods to inquire about their perceptions of their student's development and also about their educational philosophies. In this study, the teachers were female (which occurred unintentionally) with teaching experience that varied from six to twenty years.

The parents were also interviewed, using both structured and open-ended questioning, on their child-

rearing practices and the challenges they face as immigrants. Furthermore, the parents were observed using the participant and nonparticipant methods in order to gather data about their parenting styles and interactions with their children. All of the parents in this study were raised either in Vietnam or the Philippines and spoke either Vietnamese or Tagalog fluently. With the exception of an interview with one Vietnamese parent, there were no other times where a translator was needed.

Definition of Relevant Terms

This study operates within the parameters of the following definitions:

Child rearing The acts performed by the family in order to foster the development in the child of behavioral characteristics that are adaptive in a particular eco-cultural context.

Cultural adaptation The internal transformation of an individual challenged by a new cultural environment in the direction of increasing fitness and compatibility in that environment. This working definition accommodates all other similar terms such as acculturation, assimilation, and adjustment that have been frequently used in different human science disciplines (adapted from Kim, 1988).

Cultural scripts Perpetuated value orientations (i.e., beliefs and behaviors) which are being transmitted across generations through the socialization process. Socialization is used in its broadest sense to include informal education in the family as well as formal education (adapted from Greenfield, 1994).

Culture Knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, custom, habits, and capabilities acquired by members of a given society (Trueba, H. Jacobs, L., & Kirton, E., 1990).

Social constructionism/constructivism The process involved in organizing information for the purpose of creating meaning of one's daily experiences and interchanges with other people. This notion not only implies the idea of intrinsic adaptation to different ecological conditions, it also reflects that the world that people create in the process of social exchange is a reality (adapted from Bruner, 1990 and Gergen, 1985).

Theoretical Basis of the Study

The theoretical framework for this exploratory study incorporate concepts by Greenfield (1994) on cultural roots of minority children, Bruner (1990) on social constructionism, Whiting (1963) on cross-cultural child-rearing practices, and Whiting and Edwards (1988) on the

formation of social behavior. Fundamental to the integration of these perspectives is the interactive nature of cultural, ancestral, familial, and individual characteristics and practices. The process of interaction of these factors results in the way a child interprets and interacts with his/her environment based on what he/she has constructed to be the reality of his/her world.

Both Greenfield (1994) and Bruner (1990) suggested the significant role of cultural scripts in the formation of one's understanding of social experiences. Greenfield's focus on examining the roots of cognitive socialization in their cultures of origin is enhanced and complemented with Bruner's emphasis on the narrative component of meaning orientation. Greenfield discussed acquisition of culture in a developmental perspective, and her work, in combination with Bruner's, is invaluable in analyzing the concept of developing self. As Bruner stated "Self proceeds from the outside in as well as from the inside out, from culture to mind as well as from mind to culture" (p. 108); this idea of self is consistent with Greenfield's conceptual framework.

The concepts of interdependence (collectivism) and independence (individualism) are central in Greenfield's work. Studies by Whiting (1963) and Whiting and Edwards (1988) have indicated that these concepts are implicit in

the child-rearing practices of the families in their studies. Further, these studies confirmed that child rearing does affect young children's social development. Using this information, this study examines particular cultural values on child-rearing practices and how children's social understanding are constructed according to these values.

Assumptions and Limitations

This is an exploratory study which makes use of qualitative and quantitative research methods. It is conducted under the assumption that the socialization process is associated with cultural expectations which have been passed on from generation to generation. The key fact about human culture is its intergenerational transmission through the socialization process. It is also important to consider that "within ethnic groups, there are variable perspectives on the role of ancestral cultural history" (Greenfield, 1994, p. 2). Furthermore, cultural ambiguities are assumed to occur when one leaves one's homeland and resides in another society.

Despite the richness of data collected in this study through the use of qualitative and quantitative social development checklists, participant and nonparticipant

observations, and structured and nonstructured interviews, it must be considered that the subjects represent only four Pilipino and Vietnamese families. The limitations of this study include the following:

1. The emic (insider's) perspective used in this qualitative study "breeds a lack of awareness of culture" (Greenfield, 1994, p. 23). In other words, the researcher has internalized the cultures represented in this study due to her background as a Pilipino and from her exposure and intimate contacts with the people of Vietnam. Thus, she is likely to impose assumptions about conditions, values, and pathways of socialization and development that are foreign to the subjects. This concept was further explained by Greenfield (1994) when she stated that "what is culturally specific to one's homeland is taken as universal" (p.23).
2. Although a holistic approach is used in observing the children, the data to be presented focus mainly on the social development of the children.
3. Conclusions can only be applied to the Pilipino and Vietnamese families to be discussed in this study, since complexity of individuals and their environment cannot and should not be ignored.

4. Data are discussed using a social constructivist perspective; thus, implying that the information provided is ever-changing according to the daily activities of the individuals involved.

Organization of the Study

Following this introduction, Chapter Two contains the review of literature which are presented in the following sections:

1. Historical backgrounds
2. Cultural adaptations

Chapter Three contains the specifications of the methodology of the study (i.e., design, subjects, instruments which are used for gathering data, and procedure involved in the data collection). In Chapter Four, a qualitative analysis of data from the use of observations, checklists, and interviews are presented. Chapter Five contains the discussions and interpretations of the thesis. Appendices A-C are the permission forms, D-F are the interview guides, and G-H are the developmental checklists used in the study.

Footnotes

[1]The term "immigrants" will refer to all long-term international migrants including refugees except when different migrant groups need to be identified separately.

[2]In this text "Pilipino" is used when referring to persons of Philippine ancestry. Pilipino is recently come to be preferred to Filipino by immigrants to the United States for purposes of ethnic identity. This conforms with the usage adopted by the national language of the Philippines which does not include the letter *F*.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The focus of this chapter is a review of the cultural adaptation to the American culture experienced by Asian immigrants. This concept is highlighted in a cross-cultural perspective along with emphasis on the family's role in the socialization process of children. Following a brief historical overview of the Vietnamese and the Pilipino, traditional child-rearing and parenting practices among these cultures are discussed. Furthermore, due to limited information available on Pilipino and Vietnamese families, studies derived from other Asian ethnic groups are cited. The latter studies focus mainly on the comparison of societal values (i.e., individualism vs. collectivism) found in the dominant culture of the United States and the majority of Asian cultures. The chapter ends with a summary on specific similarities and differences in the adaptation process of Vietnamese and Pilipino immigrants in regard to reconstructing their parenting styles, family organization, and social interactions in order to "fit in" with the dominant American culture.

Historical Perspective on the Vietnamese

While under the domination of the Chinese for one thousand years, the Vietnamese developed their values and belief systems through Buddhism and Confucianism. These teachings, which focus on the supremacy of the universal self over the individual self and the belief in past and future lives (Nakamura, 1971), have manifested themselves in the lives of the Vietnamese peoples. Even after France dominated Vietnam for one hundred years, both culturally and linguistically, the established Vietnamese value system persisted. After a continuous struggle under French colonialism, capitalism, and communism, millions of Vietnamese left their country and fled to different parts of the world. The first wave of Vietnamese refugees arrived in the United States after the fall of Saigon in 1975. Between 1979 and 1983, the United States accepted 280,000 more of these boat people who made up the second wave. The "third wavers" came shortly thereafter ("Indochinese refugee," 1988). Distinctions among these groups of people varied from those who were highly skilled and highly educated (the first wave), to rural fishermen, farmers, and shopkeepers (the second wave), and those who were socioeconomically mixed and former political prisoners (the third wave). During their early years in the United States, many

Vietnamese refugees saw their exile from their homeland as temporary and hoped to return to Vietnam someday. A 1977 survey showed that 41% of them planned to return to Vietnam to live (Takaki, 1995). Their attachment to Vietnam remained strong.

Historical Perspective on the Pilipinos

Similar to the Vietnamese, the Pilipinos also experienced a long struggle towards independence--from four hundred and twenty-five years of Spanish colonization to the forty-eight years of American imperialism along with the brief Japanese occupation during World War II (Cordova, 1983). Finally, in 1946, the Pilipinos were able to call their country their own after more than four centuries of colonialism. Unfortunately, since the prehistoric descendants of the Pilipinos came from different racial groups--the Indonesians, the people of Malaysia, and the Thais--their cultural and value systems could be easily altered. In fact, Pickunas (1986), in her study of Asian Americans, stated that "the colonization has distorted the Pilipino perceptions about themselves and their values" (p. 14). This is evident in the one hundred and eleven linguistic, cultural, and racial groups in the Philippines speaking a total of seventy languages. Despite their

difficulties in establishing a national identity, the majority of the Pilipinos have preserved their Christian faith--derived from both the Spanish and American occupations. In fact, 83% of Pilipinos are Roman Catholic, 9% are Protestant, 5% are Moslem, and the rest belong to other religions. Therefore, the basis of the Philippine value system revolves around the belief of an omnipotent "being" who can save people from their sins and will eventually make a final judgement on whether a person will go to heaven or to hell. Thus, one must live his life aspiring to please God (Hart, 1965).

Perhaps the Pilipinos adopted the Christian faith easily because it provided the foundation they needed to face the struggles of their economically destitute lives; the poor were apt to get poorer (Cordova, 1983). Therefore, when they were exposed to the allure of America, many Pilipinos migrated to the United States for what they perceived as promising opportunities: the chance to further their education, economic security, and to begin the adventure of seeking the "American Dream."

Traditional Child-Rearing Practices of the Vietnamese

Among the traditional Vietnamese, childbirth and child rearing have become associated with supernatural beliefs

along with apprehensions about uncertainty and danger (Coughlin, 1965). Thus, the process of parenting is marked by intensified religious interest and activity. The Confucian belief that the body contains dichotomous forces or qualities (i.e., *yin* and *yang*) that govern the universe (Couglin, 1950) is manifested in the attitude of parents in raising their children. Vietnamese children are taught that the well body is "one in which there is harmony between the opposing forces of *yin* and *yang*--the male and female principles, the thermal and the aqueous principles, 'blood' (representing heat) and 'breath' (representing cold)" (Couglin, 1950, p. 211). The lack of one quality or the imbalance of both results in illness, disease, or both. Prayers and fervent supplication offered to spirits and gods are among the most common means of counteracting the impairment in the body.

Spiritual beliefs based on the Buddhist philosophy are also reflected in the lives of the Vietnamese. The child conceived by a husband and his wife has a reality beyond the biological and the physiological. In the Vietnamese way of thinking, the child is the culmination of all the parents' ethical behavior in this and past lives (Coughlin, 1965). Thus, parents are perceived to be more responsible for the child's behavior than the child himself. Good behavior reflects favorably on the child's family, while poor

behavior on the part of the child can only be interpreted by others as the product of a defective family group. In the Vietnamese culture, the basic family structure--parents, children, grandparents, uncles, and aunts--is perceived to be the central institution of the society. According to a study by Haines (1987), values that affect child-rearing practices of the Vietnamese family are based on four basic factors: "allegiance to the family, yearning for a good name, love of learning and respect for other people. These factors are closely interrelated" (p. 50). A study by Pickunas (1986) of Vietnamese cultural practices confirmed that the Vietnamese value self-effacement and "saving face." Girls are expected to speak in quiet, modulated tones, and both sexes are expected to respect elders. Most importantly, both boys and girls must preserve their "Cult of the Ancestors" which implies that one should never shame one's ancestors by public displays of either recognition or punishment. In addition, the self-contained extended family unit negates seeking help or support from outside agencies or resources.

Another demonstration of familial expectations in the Vietnamese was analyzed by Caplan, Whitmore, and Bui (1985) in their study of Vietnamese-American families. This study involved interviews and questionnaires with 200 Indochinese nuclear families who fled Vietnam after the fall of Saigon

in 1975. The findings of the study revealed that in the Indochinese culture, parents and children honor mutual, collective obligation to one another and to their relatives. They strive to attain respect, cooperation and harmony within the family.

Nguyen's study (1992) of thirteen low-income Vietnamese-American families living in a Sacramento, California Housing Project revealed the existence of cultural heritage that influence their daily lives. Through systematic formal interviews, Nguyen concluded that the parents of these families guide their children with a determined adherence to traditional values such as filial piety, respect for authority, and preserving their native language and identity. Ironically, these families had also incorporated some new values into their child-rearing practices such as promoting individuality, celebrating birthdays, and Christmas.

Traditional Child-Rearing Practices of the Pilipinos

With religious beliefs strongly influenced by the Spaniards, Philippine society is primarily Christian where the family is the "basic social unit," and "family life centers on the child" (Hart, 1965). In fact, Guthrie & Jacobs (1966) state that "The Philippines is a child-

oriented society" (p. 57). In traditional Pilipino families, children are perceived as assets to the family for they are given a variety of roles ranging from a passive recipient of attention by family members and relatives to being a responsible caretaker of younger siblings. In the rural areas of the country, children also have the responsibility of helping their parents with their work in the farms and markets. With such contributions that children give to their families, it's no wonder that a large family in the Philippine society is perceived as "blessed" or "... in God's grace" (Guthrie & Jacobs, p. 58).

While the lives of many Pilipinos center around their Christian faith, the traditional belief in child bearing reflects their desire to have some control over the fate of their children. "How the placenta is disposed of, what kind of godparent is chosen for the child, and the mother's disposition during the nursing period are believed to affect the personality of the child and are matters that entail much care and deliberation" (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966, p. 64). Moreover, a common Philippine myth is that if the placenta is thrown into the river, it is believed that the child is likely to be a wanderer, a rolling stone, probably good for nothing (Canlaon, 1952; Malay and Malay, 1955; Mallari, 1954). Although the methods of appropriate placenta disposal vary from putting it in a pot to burying it under

the basement of the family's home, the cultural reward is basically the same--influencing the infant's character so that he will always remain a close member of the family, never wandering away or forgetting to return home.

Philippine family structure is built on cultural values that reflect a system of closeness, cooperation, respect, and duty. Within the family system, which include kin by blood, marriage or fictive kinship, parents and elders expect full obedience from the children. According to Guthrie & Jacobs (1966), such demands have at least three aspects:

> First, since a child's parents, particularly his mother, brought him into the world, the child owes them a debt of gratitude and submission. Second, each member of the family is expected to obey those older than he. Third, it is believed that misfortune will plague a disobedient and disrespectful child throughout his life (p. 100).

In addition, children are perceived to be extensions of their parents. Their value is a measure of the family's state of grace, which is an indication that the parents lead good lives. "Good children indicate good parents and disrespectful, undisciplined children are clear indications of bad parents" (Guthrie & Jacobs, 1966, p. 101).

In many aspects of the lives of Pilipinos, the triad of characteristics--humility, politeness, and concern for other's feelings--is given emphasis. Binding relationships are created through (*utang ng loob*[1]) reciprocal obligations, whereby moral principle dictates that when an individual recognizes a favor or service, he or she must reciprocate (Almirol, 1982). This mentality is reflected in the societal belief that "a child owes his mother a lifelong debt of gratitude because she has borne him" (Guthrie & Jacobs, p. 101). In fact, the famous Philippine saying "*Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi makakarating sa paroroonan* (She who doesn't look back to where she comes from will not be able to arrive to where she is going)," implies the importance of knowing one's familial roots. Furthermore, favors are neither extended nor received without full acknowledgement of someone's generosity and favors in one form or another shall be returned. As a consequence of an unreturned favor, one must face *hiya*[2](shame), which is tied to conformity (Hollnsteiner, 1963) and serves to maintain the importance of the group over the individual.

Despite the strong emphasis on unity and cooperation among the kin group, many Pilipino-Americans are experiencing a breakdown in the collaborative structure of families due to the conflicting values between Pilipino

parents and the ones adopted by their children. According to Forman (1990) and Santos (1983), "As with most children, Pilipino-American youth want to be accepted, which requires that they adopt behaviors and values similar to the larger group." Unfortunately, this "larger group" values individualism, independence, and assertiveness, which are in direct opposition to traditional Pilipino values of smooth interpersonal relationships, familial cooperation, and interdependence. Therefore, the acculturation process creates familial conflict within the conjugal relationship and between parents and children (Agbayani-Siewert, 1995).

Additional Studies on Asian Child-Rearing Practices

The value of unity and cooperation is prevalent in many Asian ethnic groups. With the teachings of Confucius and Buddha among the Koreans, Japanese, Chinese, Indians, and Tibetans, the idea of triarchic balance among nature, spirits, and humans guides the lives of many Asian people (Nakamura, 1971).

According to J. S. Choi (1987), external features such as status distinction, hierarchical relationship, filial piety, maternal and paternal sacrifice, and devotion are the major tenets of the Korean family system. In fact, the mother is expected to become a part of the unborn child if

she is to successfully adhere to the prescriptive guidelines of *t'aekyo* (the traditional form of prenatal care for her child). This practice involves the mother being psychologically synchronized with her unborn child. For instance, it is believed that an expecting mother should refrain from getting angry for she will affect the behavioral development of her unborn child (S. H. Choi & U. Kim, 1994).

Just as the Korean parents are expected to devote their lives to their children, so are the children obligated to reciprocate the unconditional support provided for them (S. H. Choi, 1990). This includes obeying their parents, taking care of their parents' every need, comforting their parents during difficult times of their lives, and honoring them even after their deaths. Furthermore, children are expected to show respect and compliance to their strict fathers for it is believed that through them are the children linked across time (i.e., through the father's lineage) and across space (i.e., through his position in a community) (S. H. Choi & U. Kim, 1994).

The idea of interconnection is also manifested in the child-rearing practices of traditional Japanese. "The child is conceived and treated as naturally or bodily tied to the mother in association with the natural process of reproduction and birth, granted that *nature* and *body* are

culturally defined" (Lebra, 1994, p. 260). This concept of "naturalism" governs the parenting style of many Japanese mothers. "If asked about their child-rearing strategies, Japanese mothers emphasize letting their children grow up *shizen ni, nobi nobi to* (naturally and freely)" (Lebra, p. 261). Despite their seemingly permissive parenting styles, the Japanese people have maintained a well-balanced pattern of behavior. The children demonstrate polarized social skills such as spontaneous but programmed, unruly but reserved, spoiled but disciplined, and free but conforming. Furthermore, the Japanese culture has significantly been oriented toward group interdependence and the importance of family obligation and cooperation (Fukutake, 1981; Matsumoto, 1960).

In their study of intergenerational comparisons of child-rearing attitudes and practices in Hong Kong, Ho and Kang (1984) found that the attitudes toward filial piety continue to play an important role in Chinese patterns of child training. Among the 17 pairs of grandmothers and mothers and 20 pairs of grandfathers and fathers interviewed and surveyed, it was demonstrated that changes have taken place which are oriented toward a greater involvement of the father in the early years of the child. Despite this change, there is still a high degree of intergenerational value orientation concerning human nature, the importance of

social-environmental influences in the development of character, and the desired personal characteristics of children--competence and achievement, moral character, sociability, and controlled temperament.

Cultural Conflicts of Asian Immigrants

Based on the studies aforementioned, it is evident that to many Asian cultures, the value of interdependence or collectivism is the basis for the socialization process. This philosophy is immediately challenged when Asian people come to the United States, where the societal philosophy is grounded in self-protection and individual rights--independence or individualism (Church & Katigbak, 1992; Greenfield, 1994; Hoe, 1991). Therefore, in addition to having to cope with the feelings of inadequacy and frustration in the changed environment, many find that their "old ways" no longer apply.

As mentioned previously, both Vietnamese and Pilipino immigrants inevitably assimilate, to a certain degree, into the dominant culture of the United States. For example, the Vietnamese in Nguyen's study (1992) have incorporated promoting individuality in their child-rearing practices. Pilipino youth have also strived to adopt the independent values of their American peers. Yet, significant conflicts

arise in the adaptation process due to the differing foundations of social values--independence vs. interdependence. In their study of interrelationships between students' family, peer, and school worlds, Phelan, Davidson, and Cao (1991) confirm the effect of discrepancies among cultural values that minority students face. In their interviews of 54 students in four desegregated high schools, Pilipino and Vietnamese students share some common characteristics in describing their "different worlds." One Pilipino student talks about how she has completely disengaged from any involvement with her sister's friends because her sister is "into her own race." Similarly, a Vietnamese student reveals how she has adopted behavioral and interactional patterns similar to those of white middle-class adolescents:

> Friends are important because I can talk and share things that I wouldn't normally with my family. I can tell them things and they would see both sides of the story, unlike when I tell parents and they usually just talk of their point of view...In this [peer] world, I can be myself without worrying of their high expectations of me. I can act silly without having them stare at me and thinking I'm childish like in the family world (Student Essay, adapted from Phelan, Davidson, & Cao, p. 236).

Research has shown that Pilipino-American families, in particular, experience generational conflict which most often arises when parents rely on their traditional hierarchial authority and demand respect and obedience from their children (Morales, 1974; Tamayo-Lott; 1980). At the same time, their children--who have simultaneously been raised with the competing American values of independence, individualism, and assertiveness--tend to challenge their parents' role (Forman, 1980; Morales, 1974). The conflict results either in a constant tug-of-war between parents and their children or in a compromise of values.

Although the Vietnamese also experience some generational conflicts among family members, in most cases, their Confucian belief of collective obligation and their Buddhist foundation of being in harmony with nature have guided them through these difficult challenges. A study by Caplan, Whitmore, and Bui (1985) analyzed how these cultural values play an important role in the educational achievement of Vietnamese-American children. They found that parents and children cooperatively clear the table after dinner to work on their homework, with the older siblings helping their younger siblings. They further indicate that "younger children, in particular, are taught not only subject matter but how to learn" (p. 40). Similar studies (Blakely, 1983; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, pp. 189-198; Rumbaut, 1990, 1994)

have shown how collective familial practices of the Vietnamese have contributed to the strong bond among family members.

For most Vietnamese immigrants, the lack of English proficiency is one of the most difficult barriers they face in their new culture (Blakely, 1983; Flaskerud & Soldevilla, 1986; Rumbaut, 1995; Takaki, 1995). As one man stated in expressing the complexity of cultural adaptation among his people:

> Any jobs they have require a literate person to get. We have the arms and legs but we can't see what they see, because everything is connected to letters and numbers... When we were in our country we never asked anybody for help like this, [but] in this country everything is money first... I've been trying very hard to learn English and at the same time looking for a job... Language, jobs, money, living, and so on are always big problems to me and I don't think they can be solved in my generation (adapted from Rumbaut, 1995, p. 259).

This man's frustrations are shared by many Vietnamese immigrants, even those who arrived to the United States during the "first wave." Due to their sudden and involuntary migration to America, many Vietnamese have chosen to maintain their traditional practices and

preserve their cultural identity. Unfortunately, the dominant American society requires them to assimilate in order to take part in what their new culture has to offer.

The process of cross-cultural adaptation begins once there is awareness of ambiguities. Traditional studies on cultural adaptation have identified three major directions on individual adjustment: (1) assimilation into the dominant group, (2) assimilation into the subordinate group, or (3) some form of accommodation between the two societies (Y. Y. Kim, 1988). Within this parameter, many Asian immigrants have struggled and continue to struggle with the differing value orientations of their home culture and their new one. They believe that once they adapt to the new culture, the other is compromised, and vice-versa.

Recent studies on cross-cultural adaptation (Greenfield, 1994; Kim, 1988) resonate with the concept of social constructionism (Bruner, 1990; Gergen, 1985) in the formation of cultures. In discussing the differences between Confucianism (Asian belief) and the dominant social philosophy of the United States, Greenfield (1994) states that "Each philosophy both rationalizes and produces a cultural script concerning favored patterns of thought and action--favored method of socializing in the next generation to attain these cultural ideals" (p. 8). She further claims that when groups move from a homeland to a new country, the

scripts move with them. Moreover, these ancestral scripts influence the nature of adaptation experienced by the individual whether or not he or she is in harmony with the scripts of the new socio-cultural environment. The following chapters demonstrate how these scripts are used in the process of adaptation among two Pilipino and two Vietnamese families.

Footnotes

[1 and 2]A recent movement on the reconstruction of Pilipino ethnic identity states that these concepts were introduced by the colonizers of the Philippines. The indigenous version of these concepts are *loob* (the core of being), *kapwa* (the shared inner self), and *diwa* (psyche). These elements are believed to be what shape the Pilipino character, cultural values and traditions (adapted from Strobel, 1993).

Chapter 3

SETTING AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This chapter has three purposes: (1) to describe the community and school setting, (2) to describe the subjects of the study, and (3) to outline the research methodology regarding strategies for data collection, reduction, and analysis. The four Asian families in the study resided in South Sacramento and their children attended Elder Creek Elementary School and Oak Ridge Elementary School.

South Sacramento Community

With the largest Asian population in Sacramento county, South Sacramento is a community which mainly consists of low-income housing and government-funded organizations. Its population is mostly composed of Latinos, African-Americans, and Asians. Usually, the location of each of these ethnic neighborhoods is recognized through the abundance of restaurants and grocery stores within a particular block. Most of these stores and eateries have names and signs which not only reveal the owners' ethnic backgrounds but also the clienteles'.

Among the Asians, the Vietnamese-Chinese neighborhood has the largest and most established business community in South Sacramento. In fact, the stretch of Vietnamese-Chinese businesses is not only located in the heart of South Sacramento, but it encompasses at least seven blocks. These businesses include medical and dental offices, clothing alteration stores, music stores, and insurance offices. Within this neighborhood is a resource and employment office serving the Asian community. Here, brochures and flyers written mostly in English provide information on a variety of services available in the community. Although most of the brochures describe health services, some flyers advertise employment opportunities. During the time of my visit, only two employees were present--one Vietnamese and one Hmong. When asked by the researcher about their services for Vietnamese families, these employees instructed her to take the brochures provided and, for employment, to contact the persons specified in the flyers. They had limited knowledge of programs within the community.

Many Pilipinos in South Sacramento have settled in the Northern part of the community. This is also where Rizal Community Center (named after Dr. Jose Rizal, a Philippine hero) is located. This center is used for different activities within the community, including the annual Philippine festival. At this special event, booths are set

up inside and outside the center. These booths are used for activities ranging from selling Pilipino food to advertising businesses. There is also a talent show, with dancing and singing, involving Pilipinos of all ages from the community. Many of the participants in this event are members of the Pilipino-American Club of Sacramento. The club mostly consists of "old timers" who strive to maintain the Philippine cultural heritage through dance. The children of the Pilipino-American Club members are encouraged by their parents to join a Pilipino-American youth club where they are taught traditional Philippine dances (e.g., *tinikling, singkil, pandanggo sa ilaw*). They then perform in several cultural events in the Sacramento area including the local university.

Unlike the Vietnamese, the Pilipinos do not have a designated block of businesses in South Sacramento. In fact, there is a limited number of Pilipino stores and eateries, which are located in different areas of South Sacramento. In the three Pilipino stores, there are delis where some Pilipino dishes and desserts can be purchased; only one Pilipino restaurant is located in the neighborhood, the others are in the outskirts of the community. Therefore, the Pilipinos are not demographically represented according to their businesses in this case. Instead, their

collaboration is done through an established organization which is made up of people from different generations.

Sacramento City Unified School District

The schools of the South Sacramento community are under the Sacramento City Unified School District. This district has the highest Asian population (12,330 students). The enrollment of Asian students in the Sacramento County Public Schools by districts is shown in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Sacramento Unified also has the second highest enrollment of Vietnamese and Pilipino students with limited English proficiency as shown in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Among the 56 elementary schools in this district are Elder Creek and Oak Ridge, two of the eight schools in the district with the largest number of Asian or Pacific

Islander students. Table 3 shows the percentage of these students in the eight most populated schools the District.

Insert Table 3 about here

Elder Creek Elementary

One of the Vietnamese and one of the Pilipino children in the study attend Elder Creek Elementary. This school is located in an area where many Vietnamese people reside. In fact, the largest Vietnamese market in the city is situated a few blocks away from this neighborhood. Furthermore, the long stretch of Vietnamese businesses (stores, restaurants, etc.) is immediately adjacent to this market. The homes across the school are rented mostly by Vietnamese, Hmong and Mien families. The surrounding neighborhoods are composed mostly of Laotian, Cambodian, Latino and African-American families who live in low-income housing, which are mostly run down motels. In both the houses and the apartments, it is common to see two to three families living together. Many children are seen playing by themselves in the streets.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF LIMITED-ENGLISH-PROFICIENT (LEP) VIETNAMESE AND PILIPINO STUDENTS IN THE 15 HIGHEST RANKED PRIMARY LANGUAGES IN SACRAMENTO COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

DISTRICT	VIETNAMESE	PILIPINO
Arcohe Union Elementary	0	0
Center Unified	26	4
Del Paso Heights Elementary	4	5
Elk Grove Unified	1,530	312
Elverta Joint Elementary	0	0
Folsom-Cordova Unified	97	20
Galt Joint Union Elementary	2	0
Galt Joint Union High	0	0
Grant Joint Union High	52	16
Natomas Unified	6	5
North Sacramento Elementary	18	7
Rio Linda Union Elementary	64	11
River Delta Joint Elementary	0	3
Robla Elementary	1	12
Sacramento City Unified	909	69

Source: Language Census, Spring 1994

TABLE 2

ASIAN STUDENTS ENROLLMENT IN SACRAMENTO COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

DISTRICT	POPULATION	PERCENTAGE (%)
Arcohe Union Elementary	18	3.5
Center Joint Unified	418	8.1
Del Paso Heights Elementary	739	33.4
Elk Grove Unified	4,717	13.9
Elverta Joint Elementary	14	3.1
Folsom-Cordova Unified	721	5.6
Galt Joint Union Elementary	23	.8
Galt Joint Union High	20	1.3
Grant Joint Union High	1,235	11.4
Natomas Unified	189	6.1
North Sacramento Elementary	800	16.0
Rio Linda Union Elementary	491	5.0
River Delta Joint Unified	24	1.0
Robla Elementary	149	8.0
Sacramento City Unified	12,330	25.0
San Juan Unified	2,106	4.5

Source: CBEDS Data Collection, October 1994

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TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EIGHT MOST POPULATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE SACRAMENTO COUNTY ACCORDING TO ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER ETHNIC GROUP POPULATION

RANK	ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER	PERCENTAGE (%)
1	Elder Creek	69.7
2	Susan B Anthony	67.4
3	Newcomer	50.1
4	Mark Hopkins	49.9
5	Jedediah Smith	47.6
6	Oak Ridge	45.8
7	Peter Burnett	41.8
8	Earl Warren	41.7

Source: Sacramento City Unified School District Student Census File

As indicated in Figure 2,

Insert Figure 2 about here

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the school itself is situated at the corner of two busy streets, where accidents occur frequently. Not only do the doors of the classrooms face the streets, two entrances to the school are also on each side of the streets. Only a sidewalk and a lawn about 20 feet wide separate the school from the streets.

Inside the school are three buildings where twenty classrooms, the cafeteria, and the office are located. The blacktop with four basketball rims (two are ruined) and three tetherball poles is centralized right outside the principal's office. Behind the blacktop is a field with a small jungle gym at the side. On the side of the blacktop are three portable buildings consisting of three classrooms each.

Oak Ridge Elementary

The other Vietnamese and Pilipino children in the study attend Oak Ridge Elementary School, which is also located on a very busy street in South Sacramento. Although a private high school (one of the most prestigious in Sacramento) is

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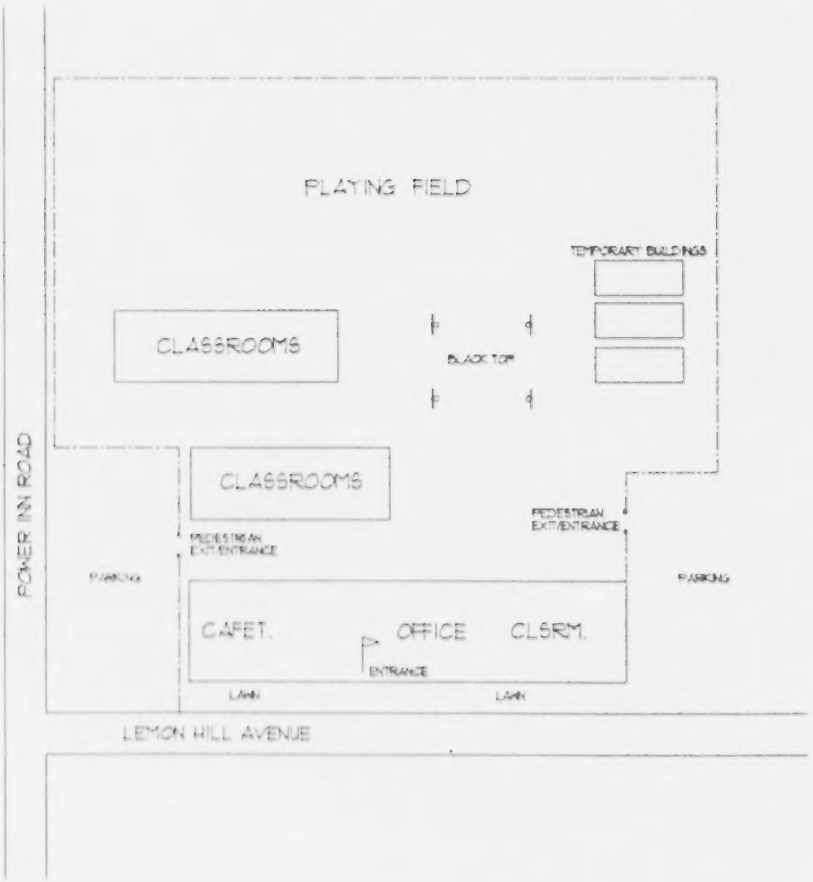
FIGURE 2: Elder Creek Elementary School



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next to the school, the low-income environment is more apparent at this site than at Elder Creek Elementary. Across from the school is an abandoned field which has become a garbage dump for the neighborhood. The homes surrounding the school are mostly rented by Asian, Latino, and African-American families. In front of these houses are many disabled cars and rusted furniture and equipment. The very small yards in front of these homes are difficult to see with all kinds of old materials stored on them.

Other than an entrance in the back of the school, Oak Ridge Elementary has a fairly controlled system of entering and exiting. Surrounded by a wire fence, the school has only one entrance and one exit for automobiles. By foot, these entrance and exit gates can be used to enter the school grounds. Beyond the parking lot and bus-loading zone, located within the fenced-in grounds of the school, are the office and an entrance to a permanent building. On each side of the office building are the other entrances--one in front of the kindergarten classrooms and the other in the faculty and staff parking lot.

As shown in Figure 3,

Insert Figure 3 about here

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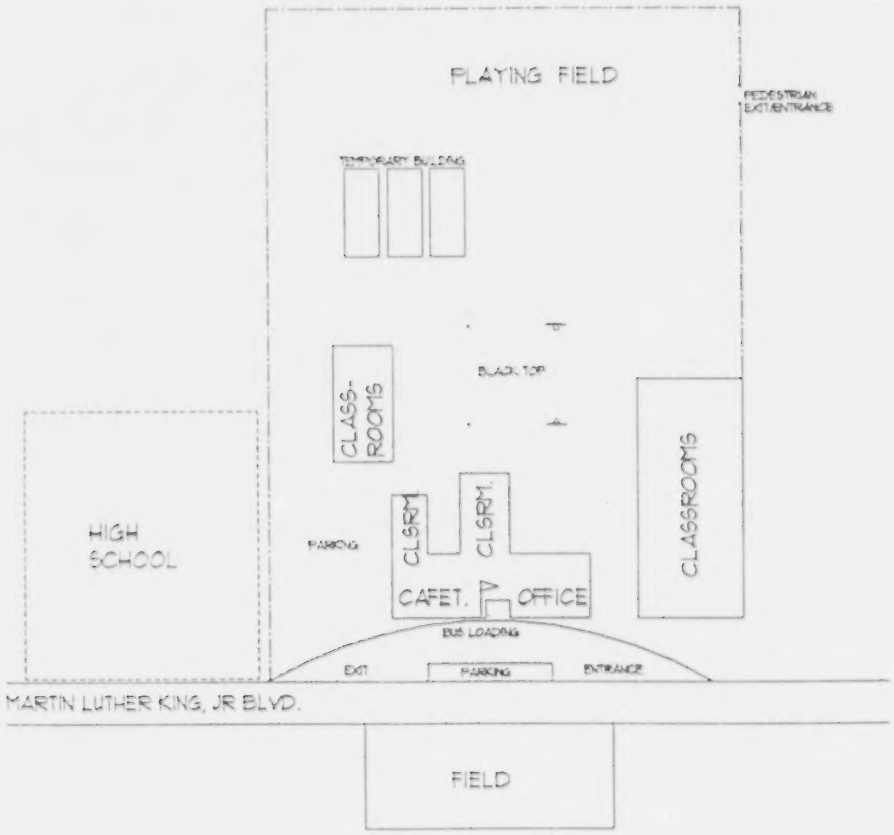
the basic layout of the school is narrow in width and long

FIGURE 3: Oak Ridge Elementary School



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in length. The classrooms behind the office are situated in along the sides. Two permanent buildings are located behind the main entrance of the school. The blacktop, with two basketball rims and two tetherball poles, is located in the center of the school. On the left back of the blacktop are three portable buildings, each with three classrooms, and on the right back is a playing field. There is an exit to the nearby housing at the back of this field, which many of the children and parents use.

The Children and the Families in the Study

To protect the anonymity of the persons involved in this study the researcher have chosen fictitious names. The four families in this study resided either within the neighborhoods of Elder Creek Elementary School or Oak Ridge Elementary School. One of the families was receiving public assistance, two had parents who were blue-collar workers, and one had parents who were professionals. The family composition also varied from a single child to seven children. One family had relatives living with them while the others lived by themselves. Three of the families had extended families living in Sacramento. Despite these variations among the families involved in this study, they

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also had many characteristics in common which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

The study was based on four children--two Vietnamese girls, two Pilipino girls--their parents, and their teachers. These persons were selected according to the following criteria: (1) children of the same gender--in this case, female children, (2) children between ages five and ten, (3) both parents born in either Vietnam or the Philippines, (4) parents' length of residence in the United States between one and five years, and (5) parents' use native language at home between themselves and among other family members.

Specifically, these persons were the following:

a. two Vietnamese girls: one 5.4 years-old and the other 7.11 years-old,
b. two Pilipino girls: one 6.1 years-old and the other 8.3 years-old,
c. four Vietnamese and four Pilipino parents between ages 30 and 35,
d. four teachers between the ages 25 and 42.

Data Collection Strategies

This study was researched using primarily qualitative methods with an "emic" approach, in the sense that the

activities of the children were viewed from the perspective of the Vietnamese and the Philippine cultures. The emphasis in the qualitative methodology allowed the children in the case studies to remain whole people, rather than appear as numbers. Furthermore, the quantitative methods that yielded ordinal data were used.

In addition to providing a multidimensional picture of the children, which was rich in descriptive detail, qualitative methodology allowed examination of the broader context as well. Descriptions of the children's lives at home, in school, after school, and in their communities were included in the study, since in real life these aspects relate extensively to the child's development. The flexibility in a qualitative approach results when whatever happens to transpire is documented. This was certainly evident in the study which accommodated the changes that occurred within the family environments of the children.

Instruments

The instruments selected focused on the children's behaviors with emphasis on: (a) social interactions with adults and other children, (b) self-help skills, and (c) prosocial behavior. Extensive systematic observations of the children were conducted through the use of frequency sampling, running records, a child skills checklist, and a

social-emotional observation worksheet. In addition, the children, their teachers, and their parents were interviewed both formally and informally.

The purpose of the frequency sampling was (1) to assess the children's interactions with adults and other children, and (2) to determine their self-help skills. The components in this method were developed by the researcher. While some categories were self-explanatory (e.g., Initiation of Talk), other categories such as "Entertains Self" and "Self-Help" needed to be specified. Therefore, the following list of terminologies is provided:

1. Entertains Self: occupies self with own actions only
2. Entertained by Others: watches and is occupied by other's actions
3. Self Help: carries out a task without asking for any assistance
4. Seeks Assistance: requests others for help in carrying out a task

The running records not only focused on particular characteristics of each child, which assisted in becoming familiar with the children's communication styles and personal preferences of activities, but they were also used to examine how often each child sought acknowledgement by either an adult or peers. In addition, the running records

were used to develop a sense of the children's daily schedules.

Finally, the children's social skills and prosocial behaviors were assessed through the Child Skills Checklist and the Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet. Elements of social development examined in the checklist were: self-identity, emotional development, social play, and prosocial behavior. In addition, the worksheet examined the childrens' (1) temperament, (2) mastery motivation, (3) interaction with peers, (4) humor and social convention, and (5) interaction with peers/group. Although both of these methods involved qualitative data, the analyses of the data obtained were based on a developmental guideline; thus, quantitative results on ordinal data were also presented.

Even though the interview questions developed were based on the researcher's personal and professional experiences working as an elementary teacher in both the public and private sectors, they were derived from the works of Nguyen (1989), Hernandez (1989), and Sears (1957). Questions for the subjects focused on their perspectives on their home and school environments. Expressions of feelings were examined along with preferences in activities and peers. Parent(s) interview guidelines were composed of several elements: (1) demographic information; (2) child-rearing practices, and (3) the differences encountered

between their native cultures and their "new" (American) culture. Finally, the teachers' interview questions emphasized (1) classroom discipline, (2) methods used to encourage ethnic/cultural preservation, (3) educational philosophy, and (4) description of subject's social behavior. Through careful analysis of the extensive data collected using these instruments, information on children's social understanding was obtained.

Procedure

The subjects were selected by initially contacting friends who had relatives with children under 8 years-old. These parents were asked for verbal permission to be contacted by the researcher, who subsequently spoke with them over the telephone and in person. They were asked to provide written permissions for their families' participation in the study and for the use of the data to be obtained. Concurrently, verbal consent was obtained from the children. The teachers' written permissions were collected through the children's parents.

The children were mostly observed in three settings: home, after-school care, and school. During the latter, two of the children went to their grandparents' homes, another child was watched by a family friend, while the other went

home with her older siblings. These children were observed for seven consecutive weeks: 7 to 8 hours total were spent in their schools while 4 to 7 hours were spent in their homes and after school care.

Running records and anecdotal notes were collected throughout the entire seven weeks. The frequency checklist was administered in the schools for a total of 40 minutes. The Child Skills Checklist took 3 days of observations in the schools to gather sufficient information. The Social-Emotional Observation Checklist was used during only 1 day of observation.

Interviews were held at different times. The teachers were interviewed during the fifth week of the research, while the parents and the children were interviewed on the last week. The teachers' interviews were all held at the school site either in their classrooms or the school offices during their "prep" periods. Three of the parents' interviews took place at the subjects' homes. Due to a change in the subjects' family situation, one interview had to be conducted with the aunt (sister to the father) of the child subject. This interview was conducted by the researcher in both English and Tagalog. A Vietnamese translator, who had been briefed on the nature of the questions and purpose of the study was used for one of the interviews.

Chapter 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This research has its focus on identifying the role of cultural scripts on the social constructions of two Vietnamese and two Pilipino children. In examining this relationship, anecdotal records, observations, and informal and formal interviews of the children, their parents, and their teachers are presented. To further support the statements on the social behaviors of each child, some quantitative data (from the use of developmental checklists) on their interactions and self-help skills are discussed. After each of the children's narratives, a summary which discusses the relationship between the different cultural values within the family, school, and community settings and the child's social understanding of her "world" is given. This chapter ends with an analysis of each parent's child-rearing practices and how these are reflected in his/her child' social construction.

First Case Study: Annie, A 5.4 Year-Old Vietnamese Girl

Annie's Home Environment

As the only child in the family, Annie was surrounded with toys and children's books in her home. She enjoyed playing house and created a variety of pretend-play scenes. During a visit to her home, the researcher had the following conversation with Annie about her favorite doll named "Foot-foot:" (Researcher=R; Annie=A)

A: We're [she and Foot-foot] going to the store. [She takes her doll in her arms.]

R: What will you do at the store?

A: Buy a necklace for Foot-foot.

R: Why does Foot-foot need a necklace?

A: To go to a party with me.

R: Do you have money to buy her a necklace?

A: Yes, I have lots and lots of money.

(April 20, 1994)

This conversation demonstrated not only Annie's understanding of the American bartering system, but some of the values which she had internalized as well. Annie spoke proudly about having "lots of money" and being able to buy a necklace for her doll. She also discussed how she and Foot-

foot intended to socialize by attending a party, where jewelry such as a necklace was a necessity for the wardrobe.

In addition to having her own room where she slept by herself, Annie also had a play room where all her stuffed animals and other toys were stored. Ironically, Annie didn't use her play room when playing. Usually she brought her materials to the family room, next to her parents' working area. Most of the time, she played quietly by herself with several dolls surrounding her; occasionally, her mother joined her and pretended to be a character in one of her dramas.

Annie's home was neatly kept, which was evident in her actions toward her toys. Despite being disrupted by either a phone call from a relative or by a visitor, Annie went back to her toys and placed them back where she got them. When asked about the house rules for Annie's toys, Annie's mother shared this rule with the researcher: "Put things back in the proper place. If something is not in the proper place, then it goes into the garbage." Apparently, incidents reinforcing this rule had often occurred, which Annie and her mom jokingly talk about.

Child-Rearing Practices of Annie's Parents

Both of Annie's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Tran, came to the United States with their families as first wave refugees. Back in Vietnam, Mr. Tran worked in the farm and helped his own father provide for the family. Mrs. Tran, on the other hand, came from a middle-class family with her father an American company employee. Both families were sponsored by church organizations to come to United States.

Despite their desire to maintain the Vietnamese traditions and cultural practices, Annie's parents demonstrated a great deal of "Americanization" in their lifestyle. They lived and encouraged a very independent life. This was reflected in several factors: (1) their decision to purchase a home which was about 20 minutes away from their parents' houses; (2) having his/her own car; (3) not wanting to be involved with any Vietnamese community events--even though most of their friends were Vietnamese.

From interviews with them, Mr. and Mrs. Tran expressed their child-rearing values and philosophy with Annie. They were proud to say that Annie slept at her own room. They also encouraged her to verbalize her feelings and her needs, which she mostly directed to her mother. Annie was not required to be in bed at any particular time. Her only restrictions were in regards to what programs she could

watch on television and the amount of hours a day she was allowed to watch; this was dependent on her performance with piano lessons and with her writing practices.

Annie's parents regarded their most important responsibility as providing for their child's needs. This included financial stability and emotional support. In setting moral values for their child, Mr. and Mrs. Tran believed that Annie's teachers (past, present, and future) were the ones responsible. As stated by Mr. Tran:

> Teachers are responsible for molding the children's minds because they spend more time with the children than the parents do. Teachers should also be the ones to provide discipline, not just in academics (July 15, 1994).

Both of Annie's parents thought very highly of the teaching profession. They perceived their roles as parents to provide support for Annie's schooling, being aware of what's done in her school so that they could help expand and reinforce her learning.

Education was greatly valued by Annie's parents. Working as a computer analyst (Mr. Tran) and a social worker (Mrs. Tran), with bachelor degrees from a nearby university, they had high expectations of Annie's academic performance. Even though Mrs. Tran had expressed that she "just hope[s] that she (Annie) turns out O.K.; not set-up a 'rosy'

picture," they both admitted that accomplishments of Annie in school made them proud parents. Additionally, Mr. and Mrs. Tran perceived "work" and "play" as two separate entities. According to them, work was important in life while play was "not too important." Work to them involved accomplishing something and "being productive." Mr. Tran stated that Annie's homework was important because "it teaches her to be responsible and to prioritize her activities." On the other hand, play was something that's done for leisure. Mrs. Tran saw play as "If you have time to do it, good. If you don't have time, it's O.K." They also stated that play didn't necessarily teach people ways to be productive in society. Instead, it was done to benefit one's interest.

While they may promoted independence in Annie, Mr. and Mrs. Tran also believed in the importance of maintaining some Vietnamese beliefs and traditions. For instance, they expressed how important it was for Annie to show respect to her elders and greet them appropriately. They also expected her to speak in Vietnamese with them, although they spoke English with her. In addition, during the interview Annie repeatedly stated that she disliked "talking in Vietnamese." Furthermore, both of Annie's parents agreed that they were having difficulties with having Annie understand the importance of family honor and cult of ancestors. They said

that in Vietnam, holidays have special meanings in which the ancestors were remembered. "In the United States, holidays don't seem to mean anything; it's just another day," as Mr. Tran spoke of it. Annie's parents had been working on helping their daughter understand the importance of New Year's Day in celebrating the death of her ancestors. During this holiday, they have Annie say a few words and serve food to the pictures of her ancestors displayed at the shrine in their home. Despite her participation in this ritual, Annie's parents still believed that to their daughter New Year's was "just another party."

Annie's After-School Care

Annie mostly applied her understanding of the Vietnamese culture during her after-school care. Every weekday, Annie was brought by her uncle to her grandparents' home, where she was watched by her grandmother for about 5 hours. During this time, Annie demonstrated much interdependence with her grandmother.

Annie communicated in Vietnamese fluently with her grandparents. She was often accompanied by her grandmother in everything that she did. They napped, played, swam, and watched television together. Annie's grandmother even fed her before Annie's mom arrived. Similar to her home, Annie

had a designated area to store her toys. But if Annie didn't put her toys to the right place, her grandmother simply put them away for her. If left alone, Annie initially would not bothered by her grandmother's absence. But after a few minutes, she would begin to worry and asks if her grandmother was O.K.

Just as Annie's grandmother provided full attention to her, Annie reciprocated this practice. She included her grandmother in all her activities. For instance, during one day when Annie was napping when the researcher arrived at her grandparents' house, Annie's grandfather welcomed the researcher then woke-up his wife. Annie's grandmother, then, woke-up Annie. After a few minutes of being in her grandmother's arms while speaking to the researcher, Annie decided to share with her pictures and stories of Disneyland. Annie asked her grandmother to help her take-out some albums and she and the researcher began their conversation: (Grandmother=G)

A: This is a picture of me, my uncle, my aunt, and my dad in the cave ride. See, my uncle made a funny face. See, *ba ngoai* (grandmother). (Turns to her grandmother who was walking towards another room.)

G: (Walks back towards us, nodding her head.)

R: Was this picture taken inside the pirate ride?

A: No, it was the one when you get wet? Remember? (Asking her grandmother.)

(June 15, 1994)

During all the researcher's conversations with her, Annie always included her grandmother. Often times, they (Annie and her grandmother) would have their own discussion in Vietnamese within her conversation with the researcher.

Annie was also very attentive with her grandfather. Although her interactions with him were limited to greetings and his requesting her to get something for him, Annie obeyed her grandfather willingly. Once in a while, he would tease her and Annie would just giggle.

Annie's School Environment

Annie's school environment was similar to her after-school care. Ms. Foley, Annie's teacher, saw work and play as related elements in children's growth. According to her, "As they play, they learn." Therefore, for the most part Annie was either playing house, running along the children's yard, watching Barney, or doing an art activity with the class. Annie demonstrated some interdependency, as she did with her grandmother, from her teacher. When Ms. Foley asked the children to clean-up, Annie was the first to do so. Yet, she often waited for Ms. Foley to acknowledge her

help. Her thoughts about intrinsic rewards were even more apparent in instances such as the following:

> After doing their art activity, Annie asks Ms. Foley if she (Annie) could help clean-up. Ms. Foley tells her "Yes." Annie begins to collect the scissors and puts the crayons together.
>
> Some other children follow Annie in cleaning-up. Annie turn to them and says, "Ms. Foley said only me, Simorone, and Justine can help." She, then, turns to Simorone, who had started playing with the toys. "Simorone," she tells her, "if you don't help me clean-up, you won't get a sticker from Ms. Foley." Simorone put the toys away and begins picking-up papers from the floor (May 25, 1994).

In managing her class, Ms. Foley often gave happy-face stamps, stickers, and small plastic toys to students who followed directions and "behave." In her six years of teaching, she said she has never yelled at any child who misbehaved; she used "time-out," where she would remove the child from the scene for 1 to 2 minutes. She, then, would talk to her or him and made sure that apologies were said to the appropriate persons. Ms. Foley encouraged the children to verbalize their needs; according to her, Annie had no

difficulty doing this. Despite what Ms. Foley perceived to be her obligation towards Annie's family, which was "communicating with them through notes and in person about Annie's daily activities in school," she had very limited knowledge of Annie's background. In fact, she wasn't aware that Annie spoke another language in addition to English. Furthermore, Ms. Foley did not know that Annie was the only child.

Ms. Foley described Annie as a child "with high self-esteem; one who was kind to other children, although bossy; who didn't like change very much; who was systematic; and who was very verbal." Annie always volunteered to share stories and comments in class discussions. Ms. Foley also mentioned that Annie had a tendency to make sarcastic remarks, perhaps due to her advanced mental level (compared to her classmates). Annie (A) has demonstrated this during an observation of her on April 29, 1994:

Setting: It is sharing time; the children and Ms. Foley (T) are sitting on the floor in a circle. A little boy, B, is showing the class his Ninja Turtle.

B: This is Michelangelo. See, he has red belt.

A: Let me see that. (She puts out her hand and waits for the boy to give her the Ninja Turtle. Once she had the toy, she flips it over several times.) What's so special about this?

B: Huh?

T: Well, Annie, I think B just wants to share with us one of his favorite toys.

In addition to being very independent--"not having to ask for help and starting work right away without further directions needed," Annie also dominated when she was in conflict with a playmate. According to Ms. Foley, Annie verbally manipulated the situation so "she's the one in control." Her verbal tendencies was further reflected on Table 4, where her Initiated Talks with both peers and adults, 45 & 11, exceeded the number of times where Others Initiated Talk with her, 8 & 2.

Analysis of Annie's Social Understanding

Annie's understanding of her social world was manifested in her daily behaviors and interactions. At home, Annie demonstrated a great deal of autonomy--she

TABLE 4

SUBJECTS' FREQUENCY OF CONVERSATIONS
Initiation by self or by others

SUBJECTS	INITIATES TALK		OTHERS INITIATE TALK	
	Peer	Adult	Peer	Adult
Annie	45	11	8	2
Trinh	13	4	11	1
Jenny	4	4	11	8
Cindy	38	3	18	3

TABLE 5

SUBJECTS' FREQUENCY COUNT ON SELF-HELP AND SEEKING FOR ASSISTANCE

SUBJECTS	SELF-HELP	SEEKS HELP
Annie	8	5
Trinh	20	5
Jenny	28	1
Cindy	21	7

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played comfortably on her own, she cleaned-up after herself, she served herself snacks, she even attempted to reach for things which were too high for her. Annie not only knew where things were in her home, she was also aware of what objects she could use to assist her in getting what she needed. For example, her parents bought her a small stool to stand on. Annie had used it often to get pictures, which she wanted to show the researcher, from the shelves. As stated earlier, both of Annie's parents promoted independence in their child rearing; furthermore, their parenting philosophy of "going with the flow, day to day," revealed their authoritative practices with Annie. They encouraged Annie to feel comfortable playing by herself and also sleeping by herself. Yet, contradictions arose when it came to Annie's academic growth. They had set very high expectations for Annie to the point where her play-time (i.e. watching television) was dependent on her work (i.e. practicing her writing and piano playing).

Annie seemed very aware of her parents' expectations. In the researcher's formal interview with her, Annie mentioned that her favorite stories told by her family members were those read to her by her mother, Danny, the Dinosaur and The Gingerbread Man. Not only did these stories come from literary works, but they also represent a

certain characteristic which is valued in our society today. Annie stated that Danny, the Dinosaur was her favorite story because "Danny goes to different places;" similarly, the gingerbread man runs to different places. The idea of travelling alone, which is very common among youngsters, seemed to fascinate Annie. On several occasions, she had expressed how she would like to go to many different places such as "the rainbow."

Annie also stated that the books mentioned above have "good words." With much reinforcement from her parents, she had internalized the importance of literacy. Annie practiced writing her alphabet and her name daily--at home, at school, and at her grandparent's house. She also attempted to read books which have been previously read to her by an adult. Without asking for assistance, Annie points to the words and talks about the pictures in the book.

At school, Annie's academic performance was excellent. Her teacher was very pleased with her creativity in art projects and her knowledge of days, numbers, and seasons for their class calendar. She saw Annie as a very independent child; but, during the researcher's observations of her, Annie behaved with more interdependence than independence. She always asked her teacher to look at her work and waited

for her comment, and as mentioned earlier, she strived for the material rewards her teacher gave. Furthermore, Annie always searched for someone to play with, which was reflected on the many times she initiated talk (Table 4). When ignored by three girls whom she wanted to play with (at the playground), Annie continued to follow them around until she found someone else to play with. Furthermore, the frequency of Annie's Self-help and Seeks help, 8 & 5 respectively (Table 5), did not differ significantly. Therefore, based on the observations of Annie at her school, she didn't act as independently as her teacher believed. Instead, Annie often sought company.

The interdependency that Annie demonstrated with her grandmother was in a more collaborative form than what it was at her school. As mentioned earlier, Annie included her grandmother in her activities. It was not for the purpose of having her grandmother help her in any way, but to Annie "playing Barney cards with the 'old lady'" was one of her favorite things to do. She enjoyed seeing her grandmother laugh and be silly with her. Although she didn't seem to interact with her grandfather very much, she also shared laughter with him when he would tease her. Annie generally showed independence in initiating activities with her

grandmother, but she was also cooperative when her grandparents told her to do something.

Second Case Study: Trinh, A 7.11 Year-Old Vietnamese Girl

Trinh's Home Environment

Trinh came from a family with seven children. As the youngest of four girls with two younger brothers, Trinh was always surrounded by her siblings. She shared her room with a sister and a brother, and she was very close to both of them. In addition to her family, Trinh's aunt, uncle, and their newborn baby lived with them in a four-bedroom home being rented by her parents. When asked to name the members of her family, Trinh mentioned all of the people living in her house.

Trinh spent most of her time at home either in the family room or the patio. She enjoyed watching television and playing Chinese jump-rope. In all her activities, she was always accompanied by at least one of her siblings. The anecdote below described this typical situation:
(R=Researcher)

> When R arrived at Trinh's home, she was waiting for her outside her door along with three her siblings. When R parked her car, Trinh's siblings went inside and Trinh waited R to approach her.
>
> She invited R in her house and led her to the patio where there was a Chinese jump rope (rubber-bands individually connected together) tied to two posts on opposite ends, holding up the rope. Both of Trinh's brothers came-out with the,, then one of her sisters (Minh) also joined them a few minutes later. Minh had brought a radio with her, which she placed on the ground and turned-on. Trinh lowered the jump rope and they all began to play (July 18, 1994).

Trinh didn't mind the constant company of her brothers and sisters. In fact, she even invited other children from the neighborhood to join in her activities. On another day that R spent with her (May 12, 1994), Trinh decided to show her the creek at the end of the street. They were joined by Trinh's two sister (Thu and Hong). As they walked down the street, Trinh ran to a house across from hers and to another one about three doors down. Apparently, she had asked her friends who lived there to join the walk. There were seven of them who went to the creek that afternoon.

During the weekends, Trinh spent a lot of time roller skating. She, her siblings (excluding her youngest brother), and her neighborhood friends usually fit themselves in her aunt's car to be driven to a nearby roller rink, King's Skate. When R joined them one day, her aunt was very grateful that R could take some of the children with her in her car.

Trinh was very knowledgeable of the system at King's Skate. She constantly accompanied R and oriented her with the things in the roller rink. She showed R where to get her skates, where to put her shoes, where to enter the rink, and she even told her about the policy that R would not have been allowed to come in if she had a plain white T-shirt on. Moreover, Trinh skated beside R during the times R would skate. She even held R's hand to keep her from falling. The following anecdote not only revealed Trinh's familiarity with King's Skate, but it also provided some insight on Trinh's social behavior:

> There were a few skating games that were played during the time Trinh, her friends, and R were there. Trinh participated in all of them. She asked R to participate but R told her she would just watch Trinh. The first game was "Red light, Yellow light, and Green light." Trinh knew all the rules, and she took the time to explain

them to R. She followed the rules willingly; even during the times she was told to go back to the beginning for moving during the Red light, she got up giggling and skated back to the beginning.

The next game they played was Limbo, which involved skating under a stick which got lower and lower. Trinh went in line, along with her sisters. She tried every level she could do, even when she knew that it was too low for her. She went towards the stick anyway until she touched it while going under. Then, she giggled and said "It's hard" (June 18, 1994).

In her home and community environments, Trinh was a cooperative, self-initiated, considerate, and determined individual. She demonstrated independence in her thinking, yet she welcomed others to join her with her ideas.

Child-Rearing Practices of Trinh's Parents

Trinh's parents, Mr. and Mrs. To, had lived in the United States for twelve years. Along with other second wave refugees from Vietnam, Mr. and Mrs. To were sponsored by "an American organization" and were brought to Tennessee. They gave birth to their first child (Hong), then they moved

to Sacramento, California where their other six children were born.

Mr. and Mrs. To surrounded their home with many Vietnamese articles. They had a shrine placed in their living room, which was visible immediately upon entering their house. They also had Vietnamese calendars hanging on the walls, and even the pre-communist Vietnam flag, which was yellow with three red stripes.

During the researcher's visits to Trinh's house, she saw her father only once. According to the children, their father worked three jobs. Mrs. To, on the other hand, told the researcher that both her and her husband don't work; they survived under welfare funding. Mr. To chose not to participate in the interview; thus, the researcher didn't have the opportunity to hear his perspective about their situation.

Despite her husband's apparent absence in the household, Mrs. To was able to maintain a collaborative relationship with her children. Although she encouraged them to speak both Vietnamese and English among themselves, Mrs. To required that the children spoke Vietnamese to her and her husband. Due to their limited English, Trinh's parents had always communicated with their children in Vietnamese; all of the children were fluent speakers of both languages. At the dinner table, the only

time when the family (except Mr. To) was all in one area of the house, both languages were used. Trinh shifted her languages depending on whom she was speaking to. She also talked in Vietnamese with her aunt, uncle, and cousin.

Preservation of the Vietnamese culture was an important aspect in the child rearing of Mrs. To. She disciplined her children by telling them old Vietnamese tales of bad fairies who took misbehaving children away. For the older ones, Mrs. To would tell them that "if they misbehave, she would send them away to a place where they would be taught to behave." She further explained during the interview that she "would rather give away her children than not being able to control them." This practice of disownment is related to the Vietnamese belief stated in Chapter 2--parents are more responsible for the child's behavior than the child himself. Thus, Mrs. To taught her children how their behavior personally affected their parents to a point that they would rather give away their children.

Even though Trinh's parents were not officially involved with the Vietnamese organization in Sacramento, they attended many of their events. Mr. and Mrs. To often brought their family to join their friends in picnics and dances sponsored by the Vietnamese community. During an unplanned meeting with the To family, the researcher had a chance to observe them at an annual Vietnamese picnic. The

researcher had attended the event with a friend, when suddenly she heard Trinh calling her name. As they were conversing, an argument started between two men who were betting on a volleyball tournament. Trinh's parents gathered all their children, but stayed and watched the two men push each other until other spectators separated them. According to the researcher's friend, who was Vietnamese, and also the children this was a common sight in Vietnamese community gatherings.

Although her children seemed very knowledgeable of the Vietnamese culture, Mrs. To expressed some concern on the cultural differences she encountered in the United States. She stated that she was afraid of doing what she wanted because she "didn't want to get in trouble, such as the school reporting that the children have bruises on them." She said many people who were non-Vietnamese wouldn't believe her when she would tell them that she rubbed her children with a coin to rid their fever. Instead, "they looked at [her] funny." As a solution, Mrs. To would often tell her children to study the "American way" the best that they could. Furthermore, she perceived that the teachers' role was to "teach [her] children the English language and the American culture." She made sure that her children did their homework immediately after dinner, when all of them cleaned-up the table then began their school work. Mrs. To

saw her role as a parent to help her children in whatever way she could to attain their full understanding of the American culture. At the same time that she expected her children to appreciate their freedom in the United States, Mrs. To gave emphasis to teaching her children to be respectful to others, especially to their elders.

Trinh's After-School Care

With five of her siblings attending the same school as her, Trinh spent much time with them, especially in walking to and from school. When the children arrived at their home and neither their mother nor aunt were there, Trinh volunteered to climb over their fence and get in the house through the back door. She, then, opened the front door to let others in. They usually watched television together or eat snacks. Often times, Trinh called her neighborhood friends and asked if they wanted to play Chinese jump-rope with her. If they were not home, Trinh watched television until her mother arrived. At 6:00 p.m. Trinh and her sisters would help their mother and aunt set the table for everyone to eat dinner. They had no designated jobs, they simply did whatever needed to be done.

Trinh's School Environment

The collaborative behavior which was naturally demonstrated by Trinh was consistent with her performance at school. Despite her high-degree of autonomy (as shown on Table 5), where her frequency of Self-help (20) was significantly higher than Seeks help (5), Trinh was sensitive to anyone in need. As demonstrated in the observation note below, Trinh willingly provided assistance to anyone who asked her for help:

> ... Ms. Yee, Trinh's teacher, had just shown a paper whale cut-out to the class. Without any directions from her teacher, Trinh folded her art paper in half, drew a shape of a whale, then cut it out. After she finished, she looked around her group to look at the works of her classmates. The girl across from Trinh asked her to draw the whale for her. Trinh willingly did. Immediately after, two boys approached Trinh and asked her to draw the whales for them. She, again, willingly did. Then, she went back to cutting additional paper for her own whale (May 12, 1994).

Trinh's helpful behavior was further enhanced in the way her classroom was set-up. Ms. Yee's implementation of cooperative learning with her class gave Trinh the

opportunity to have constant interaction with her classmates. In fact, Ms. Yee even stated in her interview that "group work allows each other to be helped, especially since she designed the groups so that each was composed of students who were advanced and those who were not. She considered Trinh to be advanced, a student who "has very good self-reliance, solves problems by herself, who doesn't rely on others, and sees things in a different perspective." She also mentioned that Trinh was a "creative and contextual learner," she perceived things as a whole. Ms. Yee's philosophy of "trying to learn by playing" had allowed Trinh to effectively learn the significance of money. As an incentive, Ms. Yee gave her students "funny money." They earned this either as a group or as individuals. Every Friday, the children could use the money they earned to buy something from the classroom store. From this system, the children not only learned how to count money, but they also learned its value and the American bartering system.

Even though Ms. Yee has had very limited contact with Mr. and Mrs. To, she often spoke to Trinh's older sisters. She would tell them about Trinh's progress in class and encouraged them to "appreciate each other's presence in [their] lives." In explaining what she thought was her obligation to her students, Ms. Yee stated "...to help the children develop into a well-rounded person, to be a

responsible, law abiding citizen who contributes to the society rather than depending on it."

In addition, Ms. Yee encouraged the children to maintain their cultural heritage. She often told Trinh and her siblings when she would hear them speaking in English to each other, "Keep your Vietnamese language; it's a blessing to know both." In her classroom, Ms. Yee also asked her students to share their languages by asking them how to say simple words such as birthday and the numbers. Furthermore, she read books to the children that discussed family values and the important roles of grandparents.

Analysis of Trinh's Social Understanding

Despite the lack of extended families in Trinh's life, the practice of interdependence had became a second-nature to Trinh. At home, at school, and in her neighborhood, Trinh was consistently involving other people in her world. When watching television at home, Trinh often looked for her newborn cousin and played with him. Then, she would go to her youngest brother and conversed with him. At school, she had volunteered to pick-up mulberry leaves for Ms. Yee every day after-school. When Ms. Yee wasn't in the classroom, Trinh would live the leaves by the door. Finally, as

mentioned earlier, Trinh had designated herself to be the "door opener" for her siblings.

Trinh also demonstrated independence to a certain extent. Even though she talked to her peers more often than adults (as shown in Table 4), she portrayed herself as a confident child. In fact, her self-confidence was perceived by others (i.e., Ms. Yee, her sister Hong, and some of her classmates) as being "bossy," but it was her way of including others in an activity. Her teacher talked about her as one who "speaks up; not timid at all." Trinh seemed to have learned the value of "having a voice" in our society. Interestingly, this was one of her mother's greatest challenge in raising her children--finding a balance with letting her children have a voice and knowing when showing respect was more valuable than being heard.

Third Case Study: Jenny, A 6.1 Year-Old Pilipino Girl

Jenny's Home Environment

Jenny came from a small family of four--herself, her older sister, and her parents. As the youngest in the family, Jenny's independent nature was catered to by her family members. In fact, she reported that her father, Mr.

Salido, was the one who fixes her bed for her. In addition, Jenny was not required by her parents to clean the room which she shared with her sister, Minnie. Instead, Minnie was expected to "model" cleaning-up for her younger sister.

Jenny spent most of her time alone, either drawing, playing with her dolls, or riding her bicycle. When drawing, Jenny usually worked at a small plastic table in the dining area, where she could also see the television. After setting up her pencil, crayons, and pencil on her table, Jenny would turn-on the television then draw and watch simultaneously. She enjoyed drawing her dolls with different styles of clothing. Although her drawings did not at all correspond to what she was watching, Jenny was able to retell any show she watched. She didn't have any particular television program that she liked, but she enjoyed those involving children who competed for prizes.

By virtue of a family rule, Jenny was always accompanied by her father whenever she rode her bike in front of their house. Otherwise, according to her family members, Jenny preferred to be by herself when doing activities at home. In fact, when the family would eat dinner together, Jenny sat by herself at a small plastic table (the same one she uses for drawing) placed along the side of the table where everyone else ate. She sometimes went to the table where the others are, but only to serve

herself more food. Jenny enjoyed eating on her own plastic table, which was not at all perceived by her family as unusual. In fact, Jenny's parents proudly acknowledged "her strong-headedness in wanting to be left-alone."

Child-Rearing Practices of Jenny's Parents and Jenny's After-School Care

Both Mr. and Mrs. Salido were employed by the same company in Sacramento. Mr. Salido worked as a claims examiner and Mrs. Salido was a data-entry dealer. Before Mrs. Salido was employed in this company, she and her husband used to have their children watched by an elderly Pilipino lady in the afternoon. Since both of them had the same work schedule neither of them could watch the children after school. Now that they worked for the company, Jenny's parents had been able to arrange their schedules so that they took turns in watching the children.

Mr. Salido's involvement in rearing his children was quite evident in the way Jenny spoke and interacted with him. She often sat on his lap and teased him by saying that he had a "big tummy." Mr. Salido responded by calling her "loko-loko" (crazy). Then, he would tell her that his tummy was where she came from. Jenny would then scream-out with "No way!" Furthermore, Mr. Salido called Jenny "Little

Michael (Mr. Salido's first name)," which he defined as "being just like him." In his interview, Mr. Salido mentioned "how nice it would be to have a son." Then, he immediately followed-up with "Oh, I do have a son," while looking at Jenny (who was also looking at him with a smile on her face).

On the other hand, Mrs. Salido demonstrated little involvement with Jenny's daily activities. During the times the researcher spent at their home, Jenny's mother was always busy doing housework, i.e. preparing food, cleaning the house, and cleaning her car. The following scenario was typical of Mrs. Salido's interaction with her children: (R=Researcher)

> R was playing mini-basketball with Jenny when her mother, who was cleaning her car, told Jenny and Minnie to put their shoes away (which were both under the car). Jenny didn't show any attempt to do what her mother asked. R, then, asked her if she had any shoes under the car. She said, "No, I don't." Her sister answered R and said, "Yeah, she has shoes there." Jenny again says, "No, I don't." R looked under the car and there were two pairs of shoes there. R, then, went back to where they were playing and R said to both of the girls, "Well, then, it looks like we

> have Cinderella's shoes under the car." Both girls giggled. Then, Minnie said "Jenny, you better get your shoes out of there," as she took her shoes out. Jenny finally got the other pair of shoes and put them away. When she came back to continue their game, R asked her "So, were they your shoes?" She still said no, but she further explained that they were her sister's old shoes which were passed-on to her (June 13, 1994).

During the above incident, Mrs. Salido was preoccupied with cleaning her car. She didn't join in R's conversation with her children, even when the children were getting in her way as they got their shoes under the car. During R's observations, Mrs. Salido appeared to have been more interactive with Minnie especially when asking for help around the house.

Mrs. Salido joined her husband in the United States eight years ago with Minnie, who was one year-old then. Mr. Salido petitioned to bring his family after being in the country for six years; he lived with his parents at that time. The family stayed with Mr. Salido's parents for three years, during which Jenny was born. A few months after Jenny's birth, Mr. and Mrs. Salido moved to an apartment of their own in Tracy, California. The family lived there until Mr. Salido was laid-off. They, then, moved to South

Sacramento where Mr. Salido was employed in his current job. Both Mr. and Mrs. Salido now have their own cars; they were also renting a house in one of the neighborhood close to Oak Ridge Elementary School.

As one can conclude from Jenny's behavior and actions, the practice of independence was supported in the rearing of Jenny by both of her parents. As they mentioned in their interview, Mr. and Mrs. Salido told their two girls not to ask for assistance from them unless they (Jenny and Minnie) have tried and realized that they couldn't do it themselves. Moreover, Mr. Salido described Jenny as "daring; not careful." He also mentioned that she often screamed when she's upset. In terms of disciplining Jenny, Mr. and Mrs. Salido both said "[We] let her be, then she eventually settles down." Often times, Mr. Salido would go to Jenny and sarcastically ask her "What's your problem?" He reported that this usually gets Jenny angrier, but she knew that her father was teasing her. Sometimes they would spank Jenny when she goes "out-of-control," but they made sure that they talked to her afterwards about why she deserved to be spanked. Mr. Salido said that he really makes an effort to do the latter, since it was not done to him by his parents. By talking to the child about being hit, Mr. Salido said that it allowed the child to feel respected.

Mr. Salido emphasized the importance of teaching his children the value of mutual respect. He and his wife often mentioned to Jenny and Minnie that "In the Philippines, authority figures can't be questioned. Everyone just follow what they say. Here, in the United States, you can question anything that you want to." In fact, Jenny's parents claimed that they routinely asked their children "What do Mom and Dad do that you think they're not doing right?" They said that both girls always came-up with something to say, such as "Not giving enough allowance."

Mr. Salido also shared during his interview that because he did not receive mutual respect from his parents, he wanted to make sure that he gave it to his children. According to him, his parents lived by "the traditional Filipino rule of respecting your parents." He said he wanted to parent his children differently from the way he was raised. He encouraged his children to "develop their own identities" and to "voice-out their opinions." Incidentally, Mr. Salido also mentioned that he had not been in good terms with his parents for the last 4 years due to their "differences in perspectives." Therefore, the children had not been allowed to visit their grandparents nor are the grandparents allowed to visit the children, despite the fact that they all lived in the same city. According to Mr. Salido, he had told the children about the

situation--that "My parents don't respect me, so why should I respect them?" Ironically, the value of respecting their elders was what both Jenny's parents wanted to maintain in teaching their children "the Pilipino ways."

Academics was not significant factor in the lives of the Salidos family. They encouraged Jenny to do her homework, but they didn't help Jenny with it. Jenny's parents simply expected her to "try her best in everything," but she didn't have to be the best. Their main emphasis in Jenny's schooling was for her to "be a leader." They often told her, "Don't follow people, have them follow you." They perceived Jenny's teachers as "her second parents who guide her in becoming the best that she can." In addition, Mr. and Mrs. Salido saw work and play as separate entities; although both were necessary in individual growth. They said that "Work is part of responsibility" and "Play is to relax, enjoy, and part of being a kid."

Jenny's School Environment

Jenny was as autonomous in school as she was at her home. She was described by her teacher, Ms. Rodney, as "independent, resourceful, a loner (but comfortable with herself), and able to entertain herself." The following

observations demonstrated the reasons why one might perceive Jenny as her teacher did:

> A child in the class had brought cookies for everyone for snack. Jenny chooses not to get one. She goes outside and gets a big rubber-ball from a bin. She begins bouncing it on the ground. A boy from her class, much taller and bigger than her, takes the ball from her as she's dribbling. "No!" she tells him, "Stop it." She stomps her feet. The boy ignores her and begins to dribble the ball away. Jenny follows the boy while she's saying "Give it back." Jenny looks at the down at the ground, she glances at me once in a while. She tells the boy with a louder voice "Give it back to me!" The boy still ignores her. Jenny begins walking towards her teacher. The boy pushes the ball towards Jenny. "Here, Jenny," he says. Jenny turns around and looks at him. Another girl picks-up the ball and gives it to Jenny. Jenny keeps her eyes on the boy and takes the ball back from the girl. She continues bouncing the ball by herself (May 3, 1994).

It is "Free-choice time," when the children decide on their own what they want to do. Jenny picks-up a book and begins reading it softly.

> Another girl looks over her shoulder and asks her some questions about the book. Jenny answers her, but continues to read--flipping the pages after she reads them. The girl leaves, and Jenny remains softly reading the book (April 12, 1994).

Through her actions, Jenny projected her preference to be left alone. Table 4 showed how little Jenny Initiates Talk with both adults and her peers, compared to how much they Others Initiate Talk (with her), 8 and 19 consecutively. Although she sometimes joined some girls who, according to her teacher "have common interests as her," Jenny often sought privacy even when an activity involved the whole group. The anecdote below showed this tendency:

> Jenny watches as Ms. Rodney turns the jump-rope with another girl. Some of the children are jumping. Ms. Rodney notices her and asks if she wants to jump. Jenny nods and Ms. Rodney invites her in. After she jumped, Jenny takes the place of the girl who was turning the rope. After two other children jumped, she asks a classmate to take her place. Jenny gives the rope to her, walks toward the bin, and gets the rubber ball. She begins to bounce the ball on the ground (April 28, 1994).

According to Ms. Rodney, Jenny's individualization was consistent throughout the day. Even with her cousin in the same class as her, Jenny didn't interact with him very much. Instead, she worked on her art projects by herself, played basically by herself, and read by herself.

Unaware of Jenny's cultural background, Ms. Rodney claimed that she practiced cultural diversity in her classroom by having the children's parents share their ethnic foods and costumes with the students. She said that the way she acknowledged culture was "spontaneously; it is encompassed in whatever arises." With a parent volunteer in her class who spoke very limited English, Ms. Rodney explained how having English as a second language "creates a hindrance" in one's life. When the researcher informed her about Jenny's ability to understand Tagalog, she was very surprised to hear that Jenny knew another language. She, then, spoke about how Jenny "learns quickly without needing too much adult intervention." Ms. Rodney also mentioned how Jenny was an "independent-learner" and how she was able to "apply new learning to past experiences."

Jenny's teacher thought highly of her. Ms. Rodney expressed how she wished she "had a class full of Jennies." She further stated that "Jenny doesn't question authority," which she appreciated as a teacher, despite the fact that she (Ms. Rodney) perceived herself as a "facilitator, rather

than a director." Moreover, Ms. Rodney saw her role in her students' lives as "being there for them to help them understand that school is a safe place with many wonderful things happening in it." She believed that there was no separation between work and play. Instead, she saw play as promoting curiosity which lead to motivation to learn.

Analysis of Jenny's Social Understanding

A great consistency was found in Jenny's actions and behavior at home and school. She valued much independence, which were promoted both by her parents and teacher. As shown in Table 5, Jenny's demonstrations of Self-help (28) exceeded her Seeks help (1). She's an autonomous child, who demonstrated that she was her own leader. She had certainly internalized her parents' teaching of having others follow her as opposed to her following them.

Fortunately, the expectations of Jenny's parents and teacher were similar--for Jenny to be the best that she can. Jenny was functioning well as an individual, but she was lacking much social skills which she also demonstrated unconsciously. Her not questioning authority came from the collaborative values of her parents and her parents' Philippine heritage. Yet, Mr. and Mrs. Salido had emphasized to their children the importance of "mutual

respect." Evidently, Jenny was practicing values which conflict with what she wanted to portray herself to be, an independent child. She had well-established herself as an individualist, but within her cultural script was a collective nature which also wanted to be developed.

Fourth Case Study: Cindy, An 8.3 Year-Old Pilipino Girl

Cindy's Home Environment

Cindy lived with her younger brother and parents at a neighborhood close to her school, Elder Creek Elementary. She was often accompanied by her brother with activities she did at home. Even though the activities she enjoyed most were "reading, going to sleep, and playing wall ball by herself"--which were all independently done, Cindy constantly interacted with her brother during the researcher's visits to her house. The following anecdotal record revealed Cindy's relationship with her brother:

> Cindy and Tommy were recalling a shark movie which they have watched with their mom.
>
> (Cindy=C; Tommy=T; Researcher=R)
>
> C: The shark ate the leg of the girl. It's not for kids under 13.

R: Then, why did you watch it?

C: Because we like scary movies.

T: This man got bit in the arms...

C: They put the man in the bed and strapped him.

A few minutes later, R asked Cindy what she and her brother usually do at home. She responds with "We fight all the time." When R asked her why they fight, she said it's because Tommy "takes my stuff," her brother says the same about her. When R asked her what she does when they get into a fight, Cindy takes her brother's shoulders and demonstrates to R what she does. She begins shaking her brother and pretend-slaps him. Then, she actually slaps him once. Tommy simply follows along with what his sister does (April 17, 1994).

Violence in Cindy's life at home was not only obviously present according to the observations and interviews with her, it was also accepted. According to Cindy's aunt, whom the researcher interviewed in place of Cindy's parents due to a change in their marital relationship, spanking in Cindy's household was a common scene. She later shared her opinion with the researcher that with Cindy's parents, "Spanking is mostly used to release the tension in their lives." She further stated that "Cindy is spanked even when

Tommy is the one that's being punished." She said that Mrs. Sanchez (Cindy's mother) justified this practice by saying that she wanted to show the children that "there's no favoritism."

Child-Rearing Practices of Cindy's Parents

In the initial stage of the study, the Sanchez family were still intact. Throughout the study, the researcher had very limited contact with Mr. and Mrs. Sanchez due to some difficulty in their marriage. Towards the end of study, they had decided to separate. Therefore, in addition to having gathered very few data that included the participation of Cindy's parents, the information provided was based on the lens of Mr. Sanchez's sister, Ms. Balikod. She was the researcher's mediator with the Sanchez family, from introducing her to them to being her informant for the parents interviews.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Sanchez came to the United States with their families in the late 1970s. Mr. Sanchez had just graduated from high school and Mrs. Sanchez had received her midwife degree in the Philippines. They met and married in the United States while Mr. Sanchez was going to school at California State University, Sacramento. Since their

marriage, Mrs. Sanchez had supported her husband by working as a seamstress for a clothing company. During this time, they gave birth to Cindy. When Mr. Sanchez received his degree and was employed as a civil engineer for the State, both he and his wife bought their current home in South Sacramento. They had lived there for the last four years, when Cindy's brother, Tommy, was born.

Other than being punished when she fought with her brother, Cindy was usually left alone by her parents. She was encouraged to sleep in her own room and to take care of her school work on her own. Furthermore, even though both of her parents spoke Pangasinan (a Philippine dialect) between themselves, they didn't encourage their children to learn the language. Instead, Cindy's parents spoke to her and her brother with their "broken" English. According to Ms. Balikod, there was certainly a language barrier between the children and their parents in the Sanchez's family.

Despite their difficulties in communicating effectively with their children, Mr. and Mrs. Sanchez encouraged Cindy and her brother to verbalize their needs. Often times, though, the children presented their needs in an indirect manner. For example, when Cindy wanted to get new shoes she told her parents "My feet hurt" rather than asking them if she could get new shoes. When the children gave reasons to their parents on why they're fighting, Mr. Sanchez usually

teased them by saying that they were like cats and dogs. On the other hand, Mrs. Sanchez often spanked both children. Verbal communication from their children was encouraged by Cindy's parents, but it was through action that Mr. and Mrs. Sanchez usually communicated with them.

With very high academic expectations for Cindy, Mr. and Mrs. Sanchez took pride in the awards she brought home from school. Certificates of Cindy's "super citizenship" and "reading and writing excellence" were displayed all around their house. According to Ms. Balikod, both of Cindy's parents perceived their daughters awards as "reflections of their family." In addition, they often told Cindy "You're going to college." With their belief that "Work is a priority and play is for leisure," Mr. and Mrs. Sanchez required that Cindy first finishes her homework before she watched television or played. Ms. Balikod further stated that Cindy's parents "do not like to get involved in Cindy's homework because they want her to gain independence and learn to be self-sufficient."

"The ability to be bicultural and to be aware of both American and Philippine cultures" were what Ms. Balikod perceived to be what Cindy's parents considered to be beneficial for their daughter. They wanted both of their children to be able to voice-out their opinions and to seek to develop what they already know. Concurrently, they

expected their children to maintain some Pilipino values. These included respecting their elders, i.e. "listening to them without interrupting the conversation," seeing their parents as authority figures, and having a good sense of family obligation. As stated earlier, Mrs. Sanchez spanked Cindy whenever Tommy gets spank to show "no favoritism," which meant that Cindy was not given any special favors. Furthermore, she was scolded not only for fighting with her younger brother, but also for "not teaching him how to behave correctly." In addition, Cindy's parents expected her to help and take care of them when they are old. They often asked her how she would provide for them when they get old. Cindy always responded with "I'll be a doctor and take care of you."

Cindy's After-School Care

All of Cindy's grandparents lived close to her house; therefore, they take turns in taking care of her and her brother. After school, Cindy walked to her maternal grandparents' house with her cousin (Bong), who was in the same class as her. Once they arrived at their grandparents' house, Cindy and Bong went to a small extension room with a glass sliding door to do their homework. Their grandmother would give them snacks to eat while they worked. Once they

finished, Cindy and Bong watched television in the family room and played with their younger cousin who's a toddler. The narrative below was typical of Cindy's experience at her after-school care:

> The children are watching television in the family room when R arrived. Their grandfather welcomes her at the door, calls the children and have them watch television in the living room. They watch Power Rangers while both Cindy and Bong explain to her who are the characters and what they're doing. During the time they are watching the program, Cindy also interacts with her toddler cousin. She talks to him with a higher-pitched voice and claps her hands together after she calls him. Whenever she does this, Bong also does the same.
>
> After the television program, Cindy and Bong are requested by their grandmother to perform a dance which they have been practicing for a cousin's 16th-birthday. Their grandfather brings out a tape player and their grandmother sets the space for them to perform in. Cindy and Bong hold hands and dance in the song "A Whole New World." Cindy seems to know all the moves and she dances wholeheartedly. On the other hand, Bong keeps

> moving everywhere while Cindy reminds him where to go and what to do. A few minutes later, Bong stops dancing and walks away, but Cindy stays and finishes the song. R and Cindy's grandparents clapped their hands in the end. Cindy's grandparents complimented her by patting her head and saying "good girl" (June 16, 1994).

Later in the afternoon, Cindy was picked-up by their uncle (a brother of their father). He would take Cindy to her paternal grandparents' house, where she joined her brother. There, they were surrounded with older relatives such as aunts, uncles, and two sisters of their grandfather. Both Cindy and Tommy were constantly conversing and interacting with an adult in this setting. Usually, Cindy would leave with an uncle or aunt to go to the store or the mall.

Cindy's School Environment

Cindy's behavior at school vary depending on what she was doing. She demonstrated much independence with academic work, but when she played she was often the one who initiated interactions. According to her teacher, Cindy had excellent academic performance and she also "follows classroom rules very well."

As reflected in Table 4, where Cindy's Initiated Talks with both peers and adults (41) exceeded the times they Others Initiated Talks [with her (21)], much social dependency was demonstrated by Cindy. The anecdote below indicated how she usually interact during play:

> After eating lunch, Cindy went to the playground and approached a classmate, Lisa, who's holding a tetherball. Lisa walks away from her but Cindy follows her while calling her name. Lisa would, once in a while, say something to Cindy, then continue walking away. Cindy finally approached another girl and began following her. This girl also kept walking away form her. Cindy switched back and forth from following Lisa and this other girl. Finally, this other girl began conversing with her when Cindy followed her to the monkey bars. After a while, another girl joined them and the conversation changed to just between the two girls, while Cindy listened on. Cindy followed the two girls everywhere they went; even when they put their arms on each others shoulders while walking, Cindy tagged-along behind them. The girls also got involved in having a boy chase them and even though the boy only ran after the two girls, Cindy also ran wherever the girls went.

After about the third time that the boy chased the two girls, Cindy stopped running with them. Instead, she looked at the many birds at the grass area. She paused for a while, then ran to where the birds were. The birds flew away. Cindy smiled as she walked around where the birds were with her hands up in the air.

Cindy headed towards the two girls again, who had stopped running. She followed them, but they didn't acknowledge her presence. After a few minutes, Cindy separated from them and began walking to a different direction. She approached a girl who was throwing a baseball. She exchanged a few words with her. The girl responded to her while she continued to pass the ball with another boy. When the baseball was thrown above the girl's head, Cindy ran to get it. She asked the girl if she could throw it. The girl said "Yes." Cindy threw the ball, then waited to have another chance to get it (May 25, 1994).

Ms. Anderson described Cindy as "a child with good moral values from the way she carries herself." She further mentioned that Cindy often talked about her grandmother; thus, Ms. Anderson assumed that Cindy was quite knowledgeable of her Philippine heritage. Ms. Anderson also

said that she fostered cultural diversity in her classroom by reading fairy tales from all around the world and by doing art activities which came from other cultures (e.g., Navajo weaving). In addition, she talked about a school-wide "Culture Day" where each classroom has artifacts and foods of a certain culture, and the students take turns in visiting the classrooms.

Ms. Anderson explained Cindy's difficulties in playing with the children by saying that "Cindy is the type of child who stayed with an activity for a long period of time, unlike most children in the class." Therefore, she thought that Cindy was often left-out because the others wanted to change their activities in a much faster rate. She commended Cindy's attention span and wished that all her students would also take a longer period of time in involving themselves with an activity.

Analysis of Cindy's Social Understanding

Cindy played many different roles in her life--as an obedient child to her parents, as a responsible sister to her younger brother, as an entertainer to her grandparents, and as a child who sought for friends at school. In one day, Cindy was exposed to at least four different settings, with very different expectations of her. At home, she faced

a great deal of responsibility for her brother; at the same time, she sought the independence that her parents encouraged her to have. Cindy played a different role in both of her grandparents' homes, where she was given much attention. There, she demonstrated a collaborative effort in depending on them and also providing them with entertainment and company. Finally, Cindy's independent nature was reinforced in her schooling. As shown in Table 5, her Self-help incidence (21) happened more frequently than her Seeks help (7). This allowed her to perform well in her academic work. Unfortunately, she was not as successful in making friends. Interestingly, Cindy became like her brother when it came to socializing with her peers. She demonstrated much dependency on them to a point where they turned away from her.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

The primarily qualitative approach used in this study allowed an in depth examination of the social environments and behaviors of two Vietnamese and two Pilipino children. Different methodologies, including participant and non-participant observations, interviews, and quantitative analyses provided an opportunity to study the varying cultural adaptations, social experiences and social understanding of the children. Descriptions of both the interactional modes of children in different contexts and of the outcomes of their interaction allowed for the exploration of the relationship between parents and children, grandparents and children, relatives and children, teachers and children, and between children and their peers. These explorations were conducted along the lines of work done by Whiting (1963) and Whiting and Edwards (1988) establishing relationships between child-rearing practices and social behavior of young children.

Aspects of the Vietnamese and the Philippine value systems, which are presumably related to the formation of the children's social understanding, were also examined.

These were analyzed using the frameworks of Greenfield (1994) on the socialization values of interdependence and independence and Bruner's (1990) on social constructionism.

The classical studies by Whiting (1963) and Whiting and Edwards (1988) have documented the important role of child-rearing practices on the social development of children. Other studies have since explored different dimensions of familial influences on children's social behavior. This study provides a new perspective where the effects of child-rearing practices on social behavior are explored *within the context of cultural adaptation* that immigrant families undergo. Further, the researcher attempted to identify particular aspects of child rearing that play a role in the social understanding of the children using Greenfield's conceptualization (1994). This author focuses on parents' cultural scripts that tend to foster the development of either interdependence (collectivism) or independence (individualism) in their children. These concepts are then related to Bruner's (1990) theory of social constructionism in order to examine the modifications individuals make in creating meanings from their daily experiences.

The individual narratives of the children in the previous chapter demonstrated how each of the four children in the study incorporated different values they adopted from their daily interactions and activities in a variety of

contexts. These contexts included parents and siblings at home, caretakers and peers in after school care (which in two cases was provided by grandparents), and teachers and peers at school. Different values expressed in these settings were examined.

In representing the interrelationships between students' family, peer, and school worlds, Figure 4

Insert Figure 4 about here

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specifies how the self copes with the influences of all worlds. The self creates meanings, perceptions, understandings, thoughts, feelings, and adaptation strategies in order to function effectively in a given setting. The two Vietnamese children (Annie, age 5.4 and Trinh, age 7.11) and two Pilipino children (Jenny, age 6.1 and Cindy, age 8.3) in the study varied in their coping mechanisms. Annie, Jenny, and Cindy all demonstrated some degree of success in understanding what values were being emphasized in a given context, but they also had some difficulties in their social interactions.

The children adapted their behavior according to their environment and their company. With their parents expectations of them in "learning the American ways of independent living," all four of the children demonstrated

FIGURE 4

A MODEL REPRESENTING THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STUDENTS' FAMILY, PEER, AND SCHOOL WORLDS

Source: Phelan, P., Davidson, A. L., Cao, H.T. (1991)

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some form of individualism and autonomy in their households. Although one of them, Jenny, illustrated independence to a greater extent than the others, each child was self-reliant in her own way at home. On the other hand, Annie and Cindy became overly attentive to their caretakers when they went to their grandparents' homes after school. They were, at some level, playing the roles of interdependent children, within the context of what they had constructed to be a place where the adults provide for the needs of the children and vice-versa. On the same script, these children also understood that they were expected to provide company, show respect, and be obedient to their grandparents. These values had been highly emphasized by their parents according to their own filtering of their native cultures. These same children were notably struggling to gain social acceptance from their peers.

The other two children, Trinh and Jenny, were in opposite ends of the spectrum. Trinh, who was constantly surrounded by her siblings, demonstrated a high degree of social skills. She involved everyone in her daily activities and others were responsive to her friendliness and inclusiveness. Trinh's respectful behavior was extended from her teacher to her peers and her family members. Her family's emphasis on collaborative effort, from preparing for dinner to doing their homework, seemed to be matched by

a collective understanding in Trinh's mind. As Ms. Yee, her teacher, stated in her interview, "Trinh sees different perspectives on things." This was an inevitable result for someone who was constantly surrounded by other people, either family members or peers and, often times, both. Therefore, Trinh's social nature was encouraged in both her home and school settings.

Jenny, on the other hand, distanced herself from others. Even though others attempted to interact with her, she showed limited interest in responding to these initiations. At school, Jenny demonstrated minimal response to her teacher and peers during play and free-choice times. At home, she ate at a separate table from her family. The fact that she was not allowed to spend time with her paternal grandparents because of her father's belief that his parents didn't respect him seemed to contribute to maintain what she had constructed to be her role as an individualistic child in all contexts. Thus, her world required no assistance from anyone, one that she could live in "on her own."

Cindy's role at home was similar to the role of Jenny's older sister. She was expected by her parents to be the one to model the appropriate behaviors to her younger sibling. This was consistent in both Pilipino families in this study, where the older child was obligated to "take care" of the

younger one(s). Cindy's parents took this expectation even further. Cindy was punished by them if she didn't set a good standard for her younger brother. Unfortunately, a language barrier lied between Cindy and her parents; thus, misunderstandings often occurred. With such challenges and the recent separation of her parents, Cindy was struggling with constructing a social understanding of her world. Fortunately, with the support of her extended family, Cindy understood the value of education and caring for her grandparents. She had little success, though, in attempting to be included by her peers.

In school, Annie, Jenny, and Cindy all demonstrated some difficulty developing their social selves. Although they seemed to be functioning effectively in their academics, these children showed some form of social isolation. With Jenny, this seemed to be a matter of preference, but with the others' many incidence were observed where they were ignored by other children when they made an effort to be included.

The parents of all four children in the study have emphasized the importance of "learning the American way of life." Even in their lifestyles and child-rearing practices they modeled the American way of being self-sufficient and independent. At the same time, they wanted their children to keep the "Asian way" of collectivism--familial

obligations, respect for authority and their elders, and interdependence among family members. Moreover, in some cases the children studied were exposed to different values and expectations in other contexts. What effects do these diverse value systems have on their children? How can these parents guide their children to have the best of both worlds? Do their expectations of academic achievement guarantee the success of their children in this society? How can they teach their children about the value of collectivism without their children perceiving them as being old-fashioned? These are questions that were asked not only by the parents in the study but by other immigrants as well--including the researcher. Uncertainties arise in the construction and reconstruction of social understanding, questions which may not have answers.

This study provided some insights on the effects of different value systems in the lives of two Vietnamese and two Pilipino children from immigrant parents. These children constructed the different meanings in their different social contexts and their social interactions and skills reflected whether or not they had a clear understanding of which social values they were expected to develop.

The information provided in this study can be used to assist our bicultural children in striving to have the best

of both worlds. Teachers need to increase their knowledge of their students' cultural backgrounds in order to help them develop the social understanding that they need to become productive citizens. By opening their minds and doors to the familial values and cultural scripts which each child brings to the classroom, teachers can contribute to the development of the social understanding that each child has begun to create. They can help the child grow through constant modifications of his/her social roles rather than being confined to a state of cognitive disequilibrium as they experience discrepant values and expectations in their various social contexts.

Parents need to keep an open mind in helping their children construct their own understanding of their teachings. They need to look deeply into their own cultural roots for these inevitably play an important role in their parenting, as discussed in the literature review and documented in the analysis of the study. Not until they have a solid understanding of where they come from, as well as of the values and expectations in their current circumstances, will they be able to fully accept and appreciate the complexity and richness of their children's lives.

The significant role of cultural scripts in the lives of the children in this study and their individual growth

confirms the natural interconnection of people and their environment. Those children whose cultural scripts in their homes, after-school care, and schools were compatible demonstrated a greater understanding of their social worlds than the children exposed to conflicting values across settings. Therefore, as caretakers of the children in our society, it is our duty to assist them in building a consistent meaning of their environment and the roles they have in it.

APPENDIX A

CHILDREN'S ASSENT FORM

ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

In the beginning of the study, the researcher will have the following conversation with each child:

Hello, my name is Irene. I would like to find-out what things you like to do in school and in your house. Is it O.K. for me to visit you in your school sometimes and in your house sometimes so I can see you with your family and friends and maybe meet them?

APPENDIX B

PARENTS' CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

We hereby agree to participate in research which will be conducted by Ms. Irene A. Bersola-Nguyen, and which will involve her observation of our child, _____'s, daily interactions with other people and interviews with us and _____'s teacher.

The research will take place in _____'s school and our home during the times we give Ms. Bersola-Nguyen our permission.

We understand that results of this study will contribute to the understanding of specific aspects of the cultural background of Asian children. It is , in turn, expected that this increased understanding will contribute to the efforts of teachers and other professionals to meet the needs of these children more effectively.

We also understand that our identity will be concealed in the publication of this study. Although Ms. Bersola-Nguyen will be using a tape recorder during our formal interviews, our conversations will be used strictly for the analysis of this study.

This information was explained to us by Ms. Bersola-Nguyen. We understand that our participation in this research is entirely voluntary, but we choose to be part of

it to continue our involvement in serving young children. We may discontinue our participation at any time in the future by informing Ms. Bersola-Nguyen.

We understand that neither we nor anyone else in our family will not receive any compensation for participating in this study.

_____ _____

Mother's signature Date

_____ _____

Father's signature Date

APPENDIX C

TEACHERS' CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

We hereby agree to participate in research which will be conducted by Ms. Irene A. Bersola-Nguyen, and which will involve her observation of my student, _____'s, daily interactions with other people and interviews me.

The research will take place in my school, in which _____ is a student, during the times I give Ms. Bersola-Nguyen my permission.

I understand that results of this study will contribute to the understanding of specific aspects of the cultural background of Asian children. It is , in turn, expected that this increased understanding will contribute to the efforts of teachers and other professionals to meet the needs of these children more effectively.

I also understand that my identity will be concealed in the publication of this study. Although Ms. Bersola-Nguyen will be using a tape recorder during our formal interviews, our conversations will be used strictly for the analysis of this study.

This information was explained to me by Ms. Bersola-Nguyen. I understand that my participation in this research is entirely voluntary, but I choose to be part of it to continue my involvement in serving young children. I may

discontinue my participation at any time in the future by informing Ms. Bersola-Nguyen.

I understand that neither I will not receive any compensation for participating in this study.

_____ _____

Teacher's signature Date

APPENDIX D

CHILDREN'S INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Part I - Identifying Data

1. Name and age
2. Number of people in the family
3. Names (and ages ?) of close siblings, relatives and friends

Part II - Life at Home

1. Names of caretakers and caretaking schedules
2. Interactions with other children
3. Interests and favorite activities at home
4. Actions-Behavior when:
   a. Angry
   b. Sad
   c. Happy
   d. Told to do something
5. Favorite stories/books told by family members

Part III - Life in School

1. Favorite formal activities in school
2. Parental involvement
3. Other siblings' involvement with your school life
4. Friends and play

5. Favorite stories/books told by teacher

APPENDIX E

PARENTS' INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Part I - Identifying Data

1. Name and age
2. Number of people in the family
3. Number of children and age of each child
4. Religious affiliation
5. Education in Vietnam/Philippines
6. Education in the United States
7. Occupation in Vietnam/Philippines
8. Occupation in the United States
9. Length of residency in the United States
10. Interaction with Vietnamese/Pilipinos in the community

Part II - Child-rearing practices

1. Physical needs:
   a. Feeding (i.e. with entire family or individually)
   b. Sleeping arrangement
2. Physical contacts:
   a. Fondling
   b. Kissing
   c. Holding
   d. Hitting

3. Languages:
   - Differences in their usage (i.e. when Vietnamese/Pilipino language used)
4. Dependency:
   a. Methods of communication
   b. Seek of assistance (when, from whom)
5. Parenting Attitudes:
   a. Factors which make parenting enjoyable
   b. Factors which make parenting frustrating
   c. Most important things that parents do for their child
   d. Rules that the family reinforce (e.g., bedtime, playtime, when to watch TV, etc)
   e. Belief about a teacher's role in the life of the child
   f. Belief on the parents' role in their child's schooling
   e. Thoughts about family honor
   f. Parent's expectations
6. Work vs. Play
   a. Examples of each
   b. Purpose
7. Natural education
   a. Beliefs of natural phenomena
   b. Sharing of beliefs

8. Formal education
   a. Homework
   b. School accomplishments

Part III - Personal experiences and comments:

1. Discuss own upbringing (i.e., discipline/punishment, obedience, aggression)
2. Cultural differences presently being experienced by the Vietnamese/Pilipino children in the United States that are difficult to accept by their parents
3. Reactions of the parents to the behaviors of their children;
4. Effects of differences on parents' life
5. Differences of cultural practices that are beneficial and should be encouraged
6. Traditional child-rearing practices that should be encouraged and practiced in the United States

APPENDIX F

TEACHERS' INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Part I - Identifying Data

1. Name and age
2. Number of students in the classroom
   - Composition of the class
3. Number of years in teaching
4. Number of months/years known the child

Part II - Overview of School Program

1. Physical needs:
   - Work and play arrangements
2. Physical contacts:
   a. Fondling/Touching
   b. Kissing
   c. Holding
   d. Hitting
3. Languages:
   - Designated times of language usage (i.e., when can Vietnamese/Filipino dialect be used)
4. Dependency:
   a. Means of communications
   b. Seek of assistance
5. Rules and Expectations
   a. Self

b. Obligations towards students

c. Obligations towards other students' parents

d. Obligations towards other family members of the students

6. Educational Philosophy

a. Work vs. Play

b. Methods of students/classroom management

c. Methods of fostering cultural diversity

Part III - Personal comments:

1. Description of child's socialization

a. Preference of activities and friends

b. Self-reliance

c. Sense of responsibility

d. Ability to "keep" friends

e. Aggressive tendencies

f. Follows school and classroom rules/Response to authority

g. Ways of handling conflict

2. Academic achievement of child

3. Knowledge of child's family; their values based on teacher's interactions with them

4. Words to describe the child

5. Any comments to be added about the child

APPENDIX G

CHILD SKILLS CHECKLIST

Child Skills Checklist

Name: _____ Observer: _____

Program: _____ Dates: _____

Directions:
Put a ✓ for items you see the child perform regularly.
Put *N* for items where there is no opportunity to observe.
Leave all other items blank.

Item	Evidence	Date
1. Self-Identity		
_____ Separates from parents without difficulty		
_____ Does not cling to classroom staff excessively		
_____ Makes eye contact with adults		
_____ Makes activity choices without teacher's help		
_____ Seeks other children to play with		
_____ Plays roles confidently in dramatic play		
_____ Stands up for own rights		
_____ Displays enthusiasm about doing things for self		
2. Emotional Development		
_____ Allows self to be comforted during stressful time		
_____ Eats, sleeps, toilets without fuss away from home		
_____ Handles sudden changes/ startling situations with control		

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Item	Evidence	Date
_____ Can express anger in words rather than actions		
_____ Allows aggressive behavior to be redirected		
_____ Does not withdraw from others excessively		
_____ Shows interest/attention in classroom activities		
_____ Smiles, seems happy much of the time		
3. Social Play _____ Plays by self with or without objects		
_____ Plays by self in pretending-type activities		
_____ Plays parallel to others with or without objects		
_____ Plays parallel to others in pretending-type activities		
_____ Plays parallel to others constructing or creating something		
_____ Plays with a group with or without objects		
_____ Plays with a group in pretending-type activities		
_____ Plays with a group constructing or creating something		
4. Prosocial Behavior _____ Shows concern for someone in distress		

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APPENDIX H

SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL OBSERVATION WORKSHEET

Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

Name of child: _____ Date of birth: _____ Age: _____

Name of observer: _____ Discipline or job title: _____ Date of assessment: _____

On the following pages, note specific behaviors that document the child's abilities in the social-emotional categories. Qualitative comments should also be made. The format provided here follows that of the Observation Guidelines for Social-Emotional Development in Transdisciplinary Play-Based Assessment. It may be helpful to refer to the guidelines while completing this form.

I. Temperament

A. Activity level

1. Motor activity

2. Specific times that are particularly active
   a. Beginning, middle, or end

   b. During specific activities

B. Adaptability

1. Initial response to stimuli
   a. Persons

   b. Situations

   c. Toys

2. Demonstration of interest or withdrawal *(circle one)*
   a. Smiling, verbalizing, touching
   b. Crying, ignoring or moving away, seeking security

3. Adjustment time

4. Adjustment time after initially shy or fearful response *(circle one)*
   a. Self-initiation b. Adult as base of security c. Resists, stays uninvolved

C. Reactivity

1. Intensity of stimuli for discernible response

2. Type of stimulation needed to interest child *(circle those that apply)*
   a. Visual, vocal, tactile, combination
   b. Object, social

3. Level of affect and energy

4. Common response mode

5. Response to frustration

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

II. Mastery Motivation

A. Purposeful activity

1. Behavioral demonstration

2. Exploration of complex objects

B. Goal directed behaviors

1. Behaviors observed

2. Response to challenging objects or situations *(circle those that apply)*
   - a. Looking
   - b. Exploring
   - c. Appropriate use
   - d. Persistence, task directedness

3. Repetition of completed, challenging task? *(yes or no)*

4. Persistence in goal directed behavior
   - a. With cause and effect toys

   - b. With combinatorial tasks

   - c. With means-end behavior

5. Selection of easy or challenging task:

6. Demonstration of self-initiation in problem-solving
   - a. Frequency of requests for assistance

   - b. Problem-solving organization

III. Social Interactions with Parent

A. Characteristics of child

1. Level of affect

2. Reaction to the parent's emotions

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

Name of child: _____ Date of birth: _____ Age: _____
Name of observer: _____ Discipline or job title: _____ Date of assessment: _____

3. Response to parent's vocal, tactile, or kinesthetic stimulation:

4. Type and ease of interpretation of cues given by child:

5. Active versus inactive time:

6. Frequency of initiation of interchange:

7. Number of interactive behaviors child maintains:

8. Reaction to parent's requests, limit setting, or control:

B. Characteristics of parent–child interaction:
1. Level of mutual involvement:
   a. Continuity of content:

   b. Synchrony of timing:

   c. Similarity in level of intensity:

   d. Equality in turn-taking:

2. Sequence of behaviors demonstrated:

   a. Themes repeated with variation or expansion:

   b. Anticipation of others' actions:

   c. Parent modification of sequences to match child's capabilities:

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

3. Indication of enjoyment

C. Characteristics of child in relation to parent while not in direct interaction
1. Type and amount of sensory cues child gives to maintain emotional contact

2. Seeking of proximity to parent

3. Change in child's reactions to parent

4. Reaction to parental separation or absence

5. Mechanisms used to cope with parent's absence

6. Reaction to parent's return

7. Awareness of self and others (circle most that apply)
   a. Identification of self and others
   b. Identification of emotions in self and others
   c. Use of pronouns
   d. Identification of gender
   e. Use of adjectives to label concrete or abstract

IV. Social Interactions with Facilitator

A. Characteristics of child
1. Level of affect

2. Reaction to the facilitator's emotions

3. Response to facilitator's vocal, tactile, or kinesthetic stimulation

4. Type and ease of interpretation of cues given by child

5. Active versus inactive time

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

Name of child: _____ Date of birth: _____ Age: _____
Name of observer: _____ Discipline or job title: _____ Date of assessment: _____

6. Initiation of interchange:

7. Number of interactive behaviors child maintains:

8. Reaction to facilitator's requests, limit setting, or control:

B. Characteristics of facilitator–child interaction
1. How child relates to facilitator:

2. Effect of facilitation techniques of matching child's content, timing, and intensity on:
   a. Initiation:

   b. Turn-taking:

   c. Affect:

3. Affect of repetition and expansion of themes on:
   a. Sequence length:

   b. Quality and degree of communication:

   c. Child's initiation of interaction:

   d. Affect:

V. Characteristics of Dramatic Play in Relation to Emotional Development

A. Structure of play
1. Continuity and logical sequence versus fragmented thought:

2. Recognition of past, present, and future:

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

3. Rigid or inflexible thought patterns:

B. Content of play
1. Dominant themes *(circle those that apply)*
   a. Dependency
   b. Loss
   c. Power/control
   d. Fear/anxiety
   e. Self-image
   Examples:

2. Recognition of boundaries between reality and fantasy:

C. Awareness of self and others in dramatic play
1. Joint referencing:

2. Seeing another's point of view:

3. Incorporation of adult into play with shared goals:

4. Making judgments about consequences:

5. Recognizing and labeling emotions:

6. Expressing and modulating emotions:

7. Demonstrating impulse control:

VI. Humor and Social Conventions

A. Smiling and laughter directed at appropriate events?
1. Physical events involving self and others? *(yes or no)*
2. Physical events involving objects? *(yes or no)*
3. Physical events involving others? *(yes or no)*
4. Verbal jokes from self, parent, adult, child *(circle those that apply)*
   a. Labeling ambiguities
   b. Conceptual ambiguities
   Examples:

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

Name of child _____ Date of birth: _____ Age _____
Name of observer _____ Discipline or job title _____ Date of assessment _____

B. Awareness of socially acceptable behaviors in specific contexts?
1. Greetings? *(yes or no)*
2. Sharing, helping? *(yes or no)*
3. Behaviors around eating, toileting? *(yes or no)*
4. Respect for adult authority? *(yes or no)*

Examples:

C. Maladaptive or socially inappropriate behaviors?
1. Self-stimulating or self-abusive behaviors? *(yes or no)*
2. Eccentric habits or rituals? *(yes or no)*
3. Unacceptable behaviors directed toward others? *(yes or no)*

Examples:

VII. Social Interactions with Peers

A. In dyad
1. Acknowledgment of peer *(circle those that apply)*
   a. Ignoring, withdrawing, unaware
   b. Looking at, watching
   c. Touching, gesturing
   d. Vocalizing toward, talking with peer

   Examples:
2. Level of play *(circle those that apply)*
   a. Unoccupied
   b. Isolated play
   c. Onlooker play
   d. Parallel play
   e. Associative play
   f. Cooperative play
   g. Games with rules

   Examples:
3. Role of child in dyad *(circle those that apply)*:
   a. No role
   b. Follows other child's lead
   c. Initiates and directs

   Examples:
4. Prosocial behaviors *(circle those that apply)*:
   a. Takes turns
   b. Shares
   c. Helps other child accomplish goal
   d. Responds to other child's feelings

   Examples:
5. Handling of conflict *(circle those that apply)*
   a. Assertiveness versus acquiescence
   b. Physical means
   c. Verbal means

   Examples:

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Social-Emotional Observation Worksheet

6. Differences between play with peers and play with adults
   a. Qualitative:
   b. Quantitative:
   Examples:

B. Interactions with peers in group
   1. Awareness of being in group experience *(circle those that apply)*:
      a. Oblivious
      b. Watches others
      c. Imitates others
      d. Initiates activities
      Examples:

   2. Adult support needed to maintain group involvement *(circle one)*:
      a. Demands attention
      b. Occasional reinforcement and encouragement
      c. Waits for turn without adult support
      d. Operates independently without group awareness
      Examples:

   3. Response of others to child:

   4. Social interaction and engagement of others:

   5. Type of activities with most social interaction *(circle those that apply)*:
      a. Exploratory
      b. Manipulative or constructive
      c. Representational or dramatic
      d. Motor
      e. Tactile/social
      Examples:

   6. With whom does child exhibit most social interaction?

Additional Comments

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